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HESIOD
THEOGONY
WORKS AND DAYS
TESTIMONIA



Edited and translated by
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HESIOD

ΘΕΟΓΟΝΙΑ

Μουσάων Ἐλικωνιάδων ἀρχώμεθ' ἀείδειν,
αἱ̄ θ' Ἐλικῶνος ἔχουσιν ὄρος μέγα τε ζάθεόν τε,
καὶ τε περὶ κρήνην ἰοειδέα πόσσ' ἀπαλοῖσιν
ὅρχεῦνται καὶ βωμὸν ἐρισθενέος Κρονίωνος.

5 καὶ τε λοεστάμεναι τέρενα χρόα Περμησσοῖο
ἢ Ἰππου κρήνης ἢ Ὁλμειοῦ ζαθέοιο
ἀκροτάτῳ Ἐλικῶνι χοροὺς ἐνεποιήσαντο,
καλοὺς ἴμερόεντας, ἐπερρώσαντο δὲ ποσσίν.
Ἐνθεν ἀπορινύμεναι κεκαλυμμέναι ἡέρι πολλῷ

10 ἐννύχιαι στεῖχον περικαλλέα ὄσσαν ἰεῦσαι,
ύμινεῦσαι Δία τ' αἰγίοχον καὶ πότνιαν Ἡρην
Ἄργείην, χρυσέοισι πεδίλοις ἐμβεβανῖαι,
κούρην τ' αἰγιόχοιο Διὸς γλαυκῶπιν Ἀθήνην
Φοῖβόν τ' Ἀπόλλωνα καὶ Ἀρτεμιν ἰοχέαιραν

15 ἡδὲ Ποσειδάωνα γαιῆοχον ἐννοσίγαιον
καὶ Θέμιν αἰδοίην ἐλικοβλέφαρόν τ' Ἀφροδίτηην
Ἡβην τε χρυσοστέφανον καλήν τε Διώνην
Λητώ τ' Ἰαπετόν τε ἵδε Κρόνον ἀγκυλομήτην

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(1) Let us begin to sing from the Heliconian Muses, who possess the great and holy mountain of Helicon and dance on their soft feet around the violet-dark fountain and the altar of Cronus' mighty son.¹ And after they have washed their tender skin in Permessus or Hippocrene or holy Olmeius, they perform choral dances on highest Helicon, beautiful, lovely ones, and move nimbly with their feet. Starting out from there, shrouded in thick invisibility, by night they walk, sending forth their very beautiful voice, singing of aegis-holding Zeus, and queenly Hera of Argos, who walks in golden sandals, and the daughter of aegis-holding Zeus, bright-eyed Athena, and Phoebus Apollo, and arrow-shooting Artemis, and earth-holding, earth-shaking Poseidon, and venerated Themis (Justice) and quick-glancing Aphrodite, and golden-crowned Hebe (Youth) and beautiful Dione, and Leto and Iapetus and crooked-counseled Cronus, and Eos (Dawn) and great

¹ Zeus.

Ἡῶ τ' Ἡέλιόν τε μέγαν λαμπράν τε Σελήνην
 20 Γαῖάν τ' Ὡκεανόν τε μέγαν καὶ Νύκτα μέλαιναν
 ἄλλων τ' ἀθανάτων ἵερὸν γένος αἰὲν ἐόντων.
 αἴ νύ ποθ' Ἡσίοδον καλὴν ἐδίδαξαν ἀοιδήν,
 ἄρνας ποιμαίνονθ' Ἐλικῶνος ὑπὸ ζαθέοιο.
 τόνδε δέ με πρώτιστα θεαὶ πρὸς μῦθον ἔειπον,
 25 Μοῦσαι Ὄλυμπιάδες, κοῦραι Διὸς αἰγιόχοιο·
 “ποιμένες ἄγραυλοι, κάκ’ ἐλέγχεα, γαστέρες οἶον,
 ἕδμεν ψεύδεα πολλὰ λέγειν ἐτύμοισιν ὁμοῖα,
 ἕδμεν δ’ εὗτ’ ἐθέλωμεν ἀληθέα γηρύσασθαι.”
 ὡς ἔφασαν κοῦραι μεγάλου Διὸς ἀρτιέπειαι,
 30 καί μοι σκῆπτρον ἔδον δάφνης ἐριθηλέος ὅζον
 δρέψασαι, θηητόν· ἐνέπνευσαν δέ μοι αὐδὴν
 θέσπιν, ἵνα κλείοιμι τά τ’ ἐσσόμενα πρό τ’ ἐόντα,
 καί μ’ ἐκέλονθ’ ὑμνεῦν μακάρων γένος αἰὲν ἐόντων,
 σφᾶς δ’ αὐτὰς πρῶτον τε καὶ ὕστατον αἰὲν ἀείδειν.
 35 ἀλλὰ τίη μοι ταῦτα περὶ δρῦν ἢ περὶ πέτρην;
 τύνη, Μουσάων ἀρχώμεθα, ταὶ Διὸς πατρὶ¹⁹
 ὑμνεῦσαι τέρπουσι μέγαν νόον ἐντὸς Ὄλυμπου,
 εἴρουσαι τά τ’ ἐόντα τά τ’ ἐσσόμενα πρό τ’ ἐόντα,
 φωνῇ ὁμηρεῦσαι, τῶν δ’ ἀκάματος ρέει αὐδὴ
 40 ἐκ στομάτων ἥδεῖα· γελᾶ δέ τε δώματα πατρὸς
 Ζηνὸς ἐριγδούποιο θεᾶν ὅπι λειριοέσση

19 ante 18 habent Π²Σ, ante 15 Κ, om. Π¹⁸Λ (exp. Hermann)

28 γηρύσασθαι Π¹ Π²η, γρ. Λ² ex Σ: μυθήσασθαι bνΚ

31 δρέψασαι Π¹(?)α: δρέψασθαι bΚΣΔ Aristides

32 θέσπιν Goettling: θείην codd.: θεσπεσίην Aristides

Lucianus 37 ἐντὸς Π¹Π²ΚΥ Etym.: αἰὲν a

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Helius (Sun) and gleaming Selene (Moon), and Earth and great Ocean and black Night, and the holy race of the other immortals who always are.

(22) One time, they² taught Hesiod beautiful song while he was pasturing lambs under holy Helicon. And this speech the goddesses spoke first of all to me, the Olympian Muses, the daughters of aegis-holding Zeus: "Field-dwelling shepherds, ignoble disgraces, mere bellies: we know how to say many false things similar to genuine ones, but we know, when we wish, how to proclaim true things." So spoke great Zeus' ready-speaking daughters, and they plucked a staff, a branch of luxuriant laurel, a marvel, and gave it to me; and they breathed a divine voice into me, so that I might glorify what will be and what was before, and they commanded me to sing of the race of the blessed ones who always are, but always to sing of themselves first and last.

(35) But what is this to me, about an oak or a rock?³ Come then, let us begin from the Muses, who by singing for their father Zeus give pleasure to his great mind within Olympus, telling of what is and what will be and what was before, harmonizing in their sound. Their tireless voice flows sweet from their mouths; and the house of their father, loud-thundering Zeus, rejoices at the goddesses'

² The Muses.

³ A proverbial expression, possibly already so for Hesiod; its origin is obscure but its meaning here is evidently, "Why should I waste time speaking about irrelevant matters?"

σκιδναμένη, ἡχεῖ δὲ κάρη νιφόεντος Ὀλύμπου
 δώματά τ' ἀθανάτων· αἱ δ' ἄμβροτον ὅσσαν ἰεῖσαι
 θεῶν γένος αἰδοῖον πρῶτον κλείουσιν ἀοιδῇ
 45 ἔξ ἀρχῆς, οὓς Γαῖα καὶ Οὐρανὸς εὐρὺς ἔτικτεν,
 οἵ τ' ἐκ τῶν ἐγένοντο, θεοὶ δωτῆρες ἔάων·
 δεύτερον αὖτε Ζῆνα θεῶν πατέρ' ἡδὲ καὶ ἀνδρῶν
 ἀρχόμεναί θ' ὑμνεῦσι θεαὶ λήγουσί τ' ἀοιδῆς
 ὅσσον φέρτατός ἐστι θεῶν κάρτει τε μέγιστος·
 50 αὖτις δ' ἀνθρώπων τε γένος κρατερῶν τε Γιγάντων
 ὑμνεῦσαι τέρπουσι Διὸς νόον ἐντὸς Ὀλύμπου
 Μοῦσαι Ὀλυμπιάδες, κοῦραι Διὸς αἰγιόχοιο.

τὰς ἐν Πιερίῃ Κρονίδῃ τέκε πατρὶ μιγεῦσα
 Μνημοσύνη, γουνοῖσιν Ἐλευθῆρος μεδέονσα,
 55 λησμοσύνην τε κακῶν ἄμπαυμά τε μερμηράων.
 ἐννέα γάρ οἱ νύκτας ἐμίσγετο μητίετα Ζεὺς
 νόσφιν ἀπ' ἀθανάτων ἱερὸν λέχος εἰσαναβαίνων·
 ἀλλ ὅτε δή ῥ' ἐνιαυτὸς ἔην, περὶ δ' ἔτραπον ὄραι
 μηνῶν φθινόντων, περὶ δ' ἥματα πόλλ' ἐτελέσθη,
 60 ἡ δ' ἔτεκ' ἐννέα κούρας, ὁμόφρονας, ἥσιν ἀοιδὴ
 μέμβλεται ἐν στήθεσσιν, ἀκηδέα θυμὸν ἔχούσαις,
 τυτθὸν ἀπ' ἀκροτάτης κορυφῆς νιφόεντος Ὀλύμπου·
 ἐνθά σφιν λιπαροί τε χοροὶ καὶ δώματα καλά,
 πὰρ δ' αὐτῆς Χάριτές τε καὶ Ἰμερος οἰκί⁴ ἔχουσιν
 65 ἐν θαλίῃσι· ἐρατὴν δὲ διὰ στόμα ὅσσαν ἰεῖσαι

48 damn. Guyet λήγουσί Π¹S: λήγουσαι codd.

⁴ Line 48 is apparently unmetrical and is excised by some scholars; I retain it, adopting (but without conviction) the banal-

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lily-like voice as it spreads out, and snowy Olympus' peak resounds, and the mansions of the immortals. Sending forth their deathless voice, they glorify in their song first the venerated race of the gods from the beginning, those to whom Earth and broad Sky gave birth, and those who were born from these, the gods givers of good things; second, then, the goddesses, both beginning and ending their song, sing⁴ of Zeus, the father of gods and of men, how much he is the best of the gods and the greatest in supremacy; and then, singing of the race of human beings and of the mighty Giants, they give pleasure to Zeus' mind within Olympus, the Olympian Muses, the daughters of aegis-holding Zeus.

(53) Mnemosyne (Memory) bore them on Pieria, mingling in love with the father, Cronus' son—Mnemosyne, the protectress of the hills of Eleuther—as forgetfulness of evils and relief from anxieties.⁵ For the counsellor Zeus slept with her for nine nights, apart from the immortals, going up into the sacred bed; and when a year had passed, and the seasons had revolved as the months waned, and many days had been completed, she bore nine maidens—like-minded ones, who in their breasts care for song and have a spirit that knows no sorrow—not far from snowy Olympus' highest peak. That is where their bright choral dances and their beautiful mansions are, and beside them the Graces and Desire have their houses, in joyous festivities; and the voice they send forth from their mouths as

izing reading transmitted by one second-century papyrus and one thirteenth-century manuscript. ⁵ Hesiod explains, paradoxically, that the Muses, born from Memory, serve the purpose of forgetfulness. Cf. also *Theogony* 98–103.

μέλπονται, πάντων τε νόμους καὶ ἥθεα κεδνὰ
ἀθανάτων κλείουσιν, ἐπήρατον ὅσσαν ἰεῖσαι.

αἱ τότ’ ἵσαν πρὸς Ὀλυμπον, ἀγαλλόμεναι ὅπι
καλῇ,

ἀμβροσίῃ μολπῇ περὶ δ’ ἵαχε γαῖα μέλαινα

70 ὑμνεύσαις, ἐρατὸς δὲ ποδῶν ὑπὸ δοῦπος ὄρώρει
νισομένων πατέρ’ εἰς ὅν· ὁ δ’ οὐρανῷ ἐμβασιλεύει,
αὐτὸς ἔχων βροντὴν ἥδ’ αἰθαλόεντα κεραυνόν,
κάρτει νικήσας πατέρα Κρόνον· εὖ δὲ ἔκαστα
ἀθανάτοις διέταξεν ὄμως καὶ ἐπέφραδε τιμάς.

75 ταῦτ’ ἄρα Μοῦσαι ἄειδον Ὀλύμπια δώματ’
ἔχουσαι,

ἐννέα θυγατέρες μεγάλου Διὸς ἐκγεγαυῖαι,

Κλειώ τ’ Εὐτέρπη τε Θάλειά τε Μελπομένη τε
Τερψιχόρη τ’ Ἐρατώ τε Πολύμνιά τ’ Ὁυρανίη τε

80 Καλλιόπη θ’. ἡ δὲ προφερεστάτη ἐστὶν ἀπασέων,
ἡ γὰρ καὶ βασιλεῦσιν ἄμ’ αἰδοίοισιν ὅπηδεῖ.

ὅντινα τιμήσουσι Διὸς κοῦραι μεγάλοιο

γεινόμενόν τε ἵδωσι διοτρεφέων βασιλήων,

τῷ μὲν ἐπὶ γλώσσῃ γλυκερὴν χείουσιν ἐέρσην,

τοῦ δ’ ἐπέ τὸ στόματος ρεῖ μείλιχα· οἱ δέ νν λαοὶ

85 πάντες ἔσ αὐτὸν ὄρωσι διακρίνοντα θέμιστας

ἰθείησι δίκησιν· ὁ δ’ ἀσφαλέως ἀγορεύων

αἰψά τι καὶ μέγα νεῖκος ἐπισταμένως κατέπαυσε·

τούνεκα γὰρ βασιλῆς ἐχέφρονες, οὕνεκα λαοῖς

74 διέταξε νόμους van Lennep (νόμοις Guyet)

83 ἐέρσην Π³ΒΚΣ Themistius: ἀοιδῆν a Aristides Stobaeus

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they sing is lovely, and they glorify the ordinances and the cherished usages of all the immortals, sending forth their lovely voice.

(68) They went towards Olympus at that time, exulting in their beautiful voice, with a deathless song; and around them the black earth resounded as they sang, and from under their feet a lovely din rose up as they traveled to their father. He is king in the sky, holding the thunder and the blazing thunderbolt himself, since he gained victory in supremacy over his father Cronus; and he distributed well all things alike to the immortals and devised their honors.

(75) These things, then, the Muses sang, who have their mansions on Olympus, the nine daughters born of great Zeus, Clio (Glorifying) and Euterpe (Well Delighting) and Thalia (Blooming) and Melpomene (Singing) and Terpsichore (Delighting in Dance) and Erato (Lovely) and Polymnia (Many Hymning) and Ourania (Heavenly), and Calliope (Beautiful Voiced)—she is the greatest of them all, for she attends upon venerated kings too. Whomever among Zeus-nourished kings the daughters of great Zeus honor and behold when he is born, they pour sweet dew upon his tongue, and his words flow soothingly from his mouth. All the populace look to him as he decides disputes with straight judgments; and speaking publicly without erring, he quickly ends even a great quarrel by his skill. For this is why kings are wise,⁶ because when the populace is

⁶ The phrase is ambiguous; alternative renderings would be “This is why there are wise kings” or “This is why wise men are (set up as) kings.”

βλαπτομένοις ἀγορῆφι μετάτροπα ἔργα τελεῦσι
 90 ρηιδίως, μαλακοῖσι παραιφάμενοι ἐπέεσσιν·
 ἔρχόμενον δ' ἀν' ἀγῶνα θεὸν ὡς ἰλάσκονται
 αἰδοῖ μειλιχίη, μετὰ δὲ πρέπει ἀγρομένοισι.

τοίη Μουσάων ἱερὴ δόσις ἀνθρώποισιν.

ἐκ γάρ τοι Μουσέων καὶ ἐκηβόλου Ἀπόλλωνος
 95 ἄνδρες ἀοιδοὶ ἔασιν ἐπὶ χθόνα καὶ κιθαρισταί,
 ἐκ δὲ Διὸς βασιλῆς· ὁ δ' ὄλβιος, ὅντινα Μοῦσαι
 φίλωνται· γλυκερή οἱ ἀπὸ στόματος ρέει αὐδή.
 εἰ γάρ τις καὶ πένθος ἔχων νεοκηδέι θυμῷ
 ἄζηται κραδίην ἀκαχήμενος, αὐτὰρ ἀοιδὸς
 100 Μουσάων θεράπων κλεῖα προτέρων ἀνθρώπων
 ὑμνήσει μάκαράς τε θεοὺς οἱ Ὀλυμπον ἔχουσιν,
 αὖψ' ὅ γε δυσφροσυνέων ἐπιλήθεται οὐδέ τι κηδέων
 μέμινηται· ταχέως δὲ παρέτραπε δῶρα θεάων.

χαίρετε τέκνα Διός, δότε δ' ἴμερόεσσαν ἀοιδήν·
 105 κλείετε δ' ἀθανάτων ἱερὸν γένος αἰὲν ἔόντων,
 οἱ Γῆς ἔξεγένοντο καὶ Οὐρανοῦ ἀστερόεντος,
 Νυκτός τε δνοφερῆς, οὓς θ' ἀλμυρὸς ἔτρεφε Πόντος.
 εἴπατε δ' ὡς τὰ πρῶτα θεοὶ καὶ γαῖα γένοντο
 καὶ ποταμοὶ καὶ πόντος ἀπείριτος οἴδματι θνίων
 110 ἄστρά τε λαμπετόωντα καὶ οὐρανὸς εὐρὺς ὑπερθεν·
 οἵ τ' ἐκ τῶν ἐγένοντο, θεοὶ δωτῆρες ἔάων·
 ὡς τ' ἄφενος δάσσαντο καὶ ὡς τιμᾶς διέλοντο,
 ἥδε καὶ ὡς τὰ πρῶτα πολύπτυχον ἔσχον Ὀλυμπον.

91 ἀν' ἀ[γ]ῶνα Π³Λ²γρ. sch. BT Il. 24. 1: ἀνὰ ἄστυ codd.,
 Stobaeus

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being harmed in the assembly they easily manage to turn the deeds around, effecting persuasion with mild words; and as he goes up to the gathering they seek his favor like a god with soothing reverence, and he is conspicuous among the assembled people.

(93) Such is the holy gift of the Muses to human beings. For it is from the Muses and far-shooting Apollo that men are poets upon the earth and lyre-players, but it is from Zeus that they are kings; and that man is blessed, whom-ever the Muses love, for the speech flows sweet from his mouth. Even if someone who has unhappiness in his newly anguished spirit is parched in his heart with grieving, yet when a poet, servant of the Muses, sings of the glorious deeds of people of old and the blessed gods who possess Olympus, he forgets his sorrows at once and does not re-member his anguish at all; for quickly the gifts of the god-desses have turned it aside.

(104) Hail, children of Zeus, and give me lovely song; glorify the sacred race of the immortals who always are, those who were born from Earth and starry Sky, and from dark Night, and those whom salty Pontus (Sea) nourished. Tell how in the first place gods and earth were born, and rivers and the boundless sea seething with its swell, and the shining stars and the broad sky above, and those who were born from them, the gods givers of good things; and how they divided their wealth and distributed their hon-ors, and also how they first took possession of many-folded

105–15 exp. Goettling, neque ullus hic v. quem non sive ex-punxerint sive transposuerint viri docti

108–10 exp. Ellger Wilamowitz alii

111 (=46) om. Π³Β Theophilus Hippolytus

ταῦτά μοι ἔσπετε Μοῦσαι Ὄλύμπια δώματ' ἔχουσαι
 115 ἐξ ἀρχῆς, καὶ εἴπαθ', ὅτι πρῶτον γένετ' αὐτῶν.

ἢτοι μὲν πρώτιστα Χάος γένετ'· αὐτὰρ ἔπειτα
 Γαῖην εὐρύστερνος, πάντων ἔδος ἀσφαλὲς αἰεὶ¹
 ἀθανάτων οἱ ἔχουσι κάρη νιφόεντος Ὄλύμπου
 Τάρταρά τ' ἡερόεντα μυχῷ χθονὸς εὐρυοδείης,
 120 ἥδ' Ἔρος, ὃς κάλλιστος ἐν ἀθανάτοισι θεοῖσι,
 λυσιμελῆς, πάντων τε θεῶν πάντων τ' ἀνθρώπων
 δάμναται ἐν στήθεσσι νόον καὶ ἐπίφρονα βουλήν.

ἐκ Χάεος δ' Ἔρεβός τε μέλαινά τε Νὺξ ἐγένοντο·
 Νυκτὸς δ' αὐτ' Αἰθήρ τε καὶ Ἡμέρη ἐξεγένοντο,
 125 οὖς τέκε κυσαμένη Ἔρεβει φιλότητι μιγεῖσα.

Γαῖα δέ τοι πρῶτον μὲν ἐγείνατο ἴστον ἔωντῇ
 Οὐρανὸν ἀστερόενθ', ἵνα μιν περὶ πάντα καλύπτοι,
 ὅφρ' εἴη μακάρεσσι θεοῖς ἔδος ἀσφαλὲς αἰεί,
 γείνατο δ' οὐρεα μακρά, θεᾶν χαρίεντας ἐναύλους
 130 Νυμφέων, αἱ ναίουσιν ἀν' οὐρεα βησσήεντα,
 ἥδε καὶ ἀτρύγετον πέλαγος τέκεν οἴδματι θῦμον,
 Πόντον, ἄτερ φιλότητος ἐφιμέρον· αὐτὰρ ἔπειτα
 Οὐρανῷ εὐνηθεῖσα τέκ' Ὄκεανὸν βαθυδίνην

114 sq. damn. Seleucus, 115 Aristarchus 127 πάντα
 καλύπτοι BV, K (sscr. ει), Cornutus v. l., Etym. Magnum: πάντα
 καλύπτη a sch. in Pindarum Theophilus Cyrillus Stobaeus Etym.
 Genuinum Meletius: alterutrum Π³: πᾶσαν ἐέργοι vel -η sch. in
 Homerum, Cornutus v. l., Etym. Magnum

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Olympus. These things tell me from the beginning, Muses who have your mansions on Olympus, and tell which one of them was born first.

(116) In truth, first of all Chasm⁷ came to be, and then broad-breasted Earth, the ever immovable seat of all the immortals who possess snowy Olympus' peak and murky Tartarus in the depths of the broad-pathed earth, and Eros, who is the most beautiful among the immortal gods, the limb-melter—he overpowers the mind and the thoughtful counsel of all the gods and of all human beings in their breasts.

(123) From Chasm, Erebos and black Night came to be; and then Aether and Day came forth from Night, who conceived and bore them after mingling in love with Erebos.

(126) Earth first of all bore starry Sky, equal to herself, to cover her on every side, so that she would be the ever immovable seat for the blessed gods; and she bore the high mountains, the graceful haunts of the goddesses, Nymphs who dwell on the wooded mountains. And she also bore the barren sea seething with its swell, Pontus, without delightful love; and then, having bedded with Sky, she bore

⁷ Usually translated as “Chaos”; but that suggests to us, misleadingly, a jumble of disordered matter, whereas Hesiod’s term indicates instead a gap or opening.

Κοῦόν τε Κρεῦόν θ' Ὄπερίονά τ' Ἰαπετόν τε
 135 Θείαν τε Ῥείαν τε Θέμιν τε Μνημοσύνην τε
 Φοίβην τε χρυσοστέφανον Τηθύν τ' ἐρατεινήν.
 τοὺς δὲ μέθ' ὄπλότατος γένετο Κρόνος
 ἀγκυλομήτης,
 δεινότατος παίδων, θαλερὸν δ' ἥχθηρε τοκῆα.
 γείνατο δ' αὖ Κύκλωπας ὑπέρβιον ἥτορ ἔχοντας,
 140 Βρόντην τε Στερόπην τε καὶ Ἀργην ὀβριμόθυμον,
 οἱ Ζηνὶ βροντήν τ' ἔδοσαν τεῦξάν τε κεραυνόν.
 οἱ δ' ἥτοι τὰ μὲν ἄλλα θεοῖς ἐναλίγκιοι ἥσαν,
 μοῦνος δ' ὀφθαλμὸς μέστσω ἐνέκειτο μετώπῳ.
 Κύκλωπες δ' ὅνομ' ἥσαν ἐπώνυμον, οὐνεκ' ἄρα
 σφεων
 145 κυκλοτερὴς ὀφθαλμὸς ἔεις ἐνέκειτο μετώπῳ.
 ἴσχὺς δ' ἥδε βίη καὶ μηχαναὶ ἥσαν ἐπ' ἔργοις.
 ἄλλοι δ' αὖ Γαίης τε καὶ Οὐρανοῦ ἔξεγένοντο
 τρεῖς παῖδες μεγάλοι <τε> καὶ ὀβριμοί, οὐκ
 ὀνομαστοί,
 Κόττος τε Βριάρεώς τε Γύγης θ', ὑπερήφανα τέκνα.
 150 τῶν ἑκατὸν μὲν χεῖρες ἀπ' ὕμων ἀίσσοντο,
 ἄπλαστοι, κεφαλαὶ δὲ ἑκάστῳ πεντήκοντα
 ἔξ ὕμων ἐπέφυκον ἐπὶ στιβαροῦσι μέλεσσιν.
 ἴσχὺς δ' ἄπλητος κρατερὴ μεγάλῳ ἐπὶ εἴδει.
 ὁσσοι γὰρ Γαίης τε καὶ Οὐρανοῦ ἔξεγένοντο
 155 δεινότατοι παίδων, σφετέρῳ δ' ἥχθοντο τοκῆι
 ἔξ ἀρχῆς· καὶ τῶν μὲν ὅπως τις πρῶτα γένοιτο,

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deep-eddying Ocean and Coeus and Crius and Hyperion and Iapetus and Theia and Rhea and Themis and Mnemosyne and golden-crowned Phoebe and lovely Tethys. After these, Cronus was born, the youngest of all, crooked-counseled, the most terrible of her children; and he hated his vigorous father.

(139) Then she bore the Cyclopes, who have very violent hearts, Brontes (Thunder) and Steropes (Lightning) and strong-spirited Arges (Bright), those who gave thunder to Zeus and fashioned the thunderbolt. These were like the gods in other regards, but only one eye was set in the middle of their foreheads; and they were called Cyclopes (Circle-eyed) by name, since a single circle-shaped eye was set in their foreheads. Strength and force and contrivances were in their works.

(147) Then from Earth and Sky came forth three more sons, great and strong, unspeakable, Cottus and Briareus and Gyges, presumptuous children. A hundred arms sprang forth from their shoulders, unapproachable, and upon their massive limbs grew fifty heads out of each one's shoulders; and the mighty strength in their great forms was dreadful.

(154) For all these, who came forth from Earth and Sky as the most terrible of their children,⁸ were hated by their own father from the beginning. And as soon as any of them

⁸ The exact reference is unclear, but apparently only the last two sets of three children each, the Cyclopes and the Hundred-Handers, are meant, and not additionally the first set of twelve Titans.

148 om., in mg. add. L¹, post 149 *m* (hic et Π²¹)

πάντας ἀποκρύπτασκε καὶ ἐς φάος οὐκ ἀνίεσκε
 Γαῖης ἐν κευθυμῶνι, κακῷ δὲ ἐπετέρπετο ἔργῳ,
 Οὐρανός· ή δὲ ἐντὸς στοναχίζετο Γαῖα πελώρη
 160 στεινομένη, δολίην δὲ κακὴν ἐπεφράσσατο τέχνην.
 αὗτα δὲ ποιήσασα γένος πολιοῦ ἀδάμαντος
 τεῦξε μέγα δρέπανον καὶ ἐπέφραδε παισὶ φίλοισιν
 εἰπε δὲ θαρσύνουσα, φίλον τετιημένη ἥτορ·
 “παῖδες ἐμοὶ καὶ πατρὸς ἀτασθάλου, αἴ κ' ἐθέλητε
 165 πείθεσθαι· πατρός κε κακὴν τεισαίμεθα λώβην
 ὑμετέρου· πρότερος γὰρ ἀεικέα μήσατο ἔργα.”
 ὡς φάτο· τοὺς δὲ ἄρα πάντας ἔλεν δέος, οὐδέ τις
 αὐτῶν
 φθέγξατο. θαρσήσας δὲ μέγας Κρόνος ἀγκυλομήτης
 αὗτις μύθοισι προσηγύδα μητέρα κεδνήν·
 170 “μητέρ, ἐγώ κεν τοῦτό γ' ὑποσχόμενος τελέσαιμι
 ἔργον, ἐπεὶ πατρός γε δυσωνύμου οὐκ ἀλεγίζω
 ὑμετέρου· πρότερος γὰρ ἀεικέα μήσατο ἔργα.”
 ὡς φάτο· γήθησεν δὲ μέγα φρεσὶ Γαῖα πελώρη
 εἰσε δέ μιν κρύψασα λόχῳ, ἐνέθηκε δὲ χερσὶν
 175 ἄρπην καρχαρόδοντα, δόλον δὲ ὑπεθήκατο πάντα.
 ἥλθε δὲ νύκτ' ἐπάγων μέγας Οὐρανός, ἀμφὶ δὲ Γαῖη
 ἴμείρων φιλότητος ἐπέσχετο, καί ρ' ἐτανύσθη
 πάντη· ὁ δὲ ἐκ λοχέοιο πάις ὠρέξατο χειρὶ¹
 σκαιῆ, δεξιτερῆ δὲ πελώριον ἔλλαβεν ἄρπην,
 180 μακρὴν καρχαρόδοντα, φίλου δὲ ἀπὸ μῆδεα πατρὸς
 ἐσσυμένως ἥμησε, πάλιν δὲ ἔρριψε φέρεσθαι
 ἐξοπίσω. τὰ μὲν οὖν τι ἐτώσια ἔκφυγε χειρός·

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was born, Sky put them all away out of sight in a hiding-place in Earth and did not let them come up into the light, and he rejoiced in his evil deed. But huge Earth groaned within, for she was constricted, and she devised a tricky, evil stratagem. At once she created an offspring, of gray adamant, and she fashioned a big sickle and showed it to her dear sons.

(163) And she spoke, encouraging them while she grieved in her dear heart: "Sons of mine and of a wicked father, obey me, if you wish: we would avenge your father's evil outrage. For he was the first to devise unseemly deeds."

(167) So she spoke, but dread seized them all, and none of them uttered a sound. But great crooked-counseled Cronus took courage and at once addressed his cherished mother in turn with these words: "Mother, I would promise and perform this deed, since I do not care at all about our evil-named father. For he was the first to devise unseemly deeds."

(173) So he spoke, and huge Earth rejoiced greatly in her breast. She placed him in an ambush, concealing him from sight, and put into his hands the jagged-toothed sickle, and she explained the whole trick to him. And great Sky came, bringing night with him; and spreading himself out around Earth in his desire for love he lay outstretched in all directions. Then his son reached out from his ambush with his left hand, and with his right hand he grasped the monstrous sickle, long and jagged-toothed, and eagerly he reaped the genitals from his dear father and threw them behind him to be borne away. But not in vain did they fall

165 κε Goettling: κεν Σras: γε aK: τε Wac

δσσαι γὰρ ραθάμιγγες ἀπέσσυθεν αίματόεσσαι,
 πάσας δέξατο Γαῖα· περιπλομένων δ' ἐνιαυτῶν
 185 γείνατ' Ἐρινῦς τε κρατερὰς μεγάλους τε Γίγαντας,
 τεύχεσι λαμπομένους, δολίχ' ἔγχεα χερσὶν ἔχοντας,
 Νύμφας θ' ἃς Μελίας καλέουσ' ἐπ' ἀπέιρονα γαῖαν.
 μῆδεα δ' ὡς τὸ πρῶτον ἀποτμήξας ἀδάμαντι
 κάββαλ' ἀπ' ἡπείροιο πολυκλύστῳ ἐνὶ πόντῳ,
 190 ὡς φέρετ' ἀμ πέλαγος πουλὺν χρόνον, ἀμφὶ δὲ
 λευκὸς
 ἀφρὸς ἀπ' ἀθανάτου χροὸς ὥρνυτο· τῷ δ' ἔνι κούρη
 ἐθρέφθη· πρῶτον δὲ Κυθήροισι ζαθέοισιν
 ἔπλητ', ἐνθεν ἔπειτα περίρρυτον ἵκετο Κύπρον.
 ἐκ δ' ἔβη αἰδοίη καλὴ θεός, ἀμφὶ δὲ ποίη
 195 ποσσὶν ὑπὸ ράδινοῖσιν ἀέξετο· τὴν δ' Ἀφροδίτην
 ἀφρογενέα τε θεὰν καὶ ἐνστέφανον Κυθέρειαν
 κικλήσκουσι θεοί τε καὶ ἀνέρες, οὕνεκ' ἐν ἀφρῷ
 θρέφθη· ἀτὰρ Κυθέρειαν, ὅτι προσέκυρσε Κυθήροις·
 Κυπρογενέα δ', ὅτι γέντο περικλύστῳ ἐνὶ Κύπρῳ·
 200 ἡδὲ φιλομμειδέα, ὅτι μηδέων ἔξεφαάνθη.
 τῇ δ' Ἐρος ὡμάρτησε καὶ Ἰμερος ἔσπετο καλὸς
 γεινομένη τὰ πρῶτα θεῶν τ' ἐσ φῦλον ιούσῃ·
 ταύτην δ' ἔξ ἀρχῆς τιμὴν ἔχει ἡδὲ λέλογχε
 μοῖραν ἐν ἀνθρώποισι καὶ ἀθανάτοισι θεοῖσι,

200 φιλομμειδέα Bergk: φιλο(μ)μηδέα vel – μῆδεα (μει sscr. Mosqu. 469)

⁹ It is unclear what exactly the relation is between the Melian

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from his hand: for Earth received all the bloody drops that shot forth, and when the years had revolved she bore the mighty Erinyes and the great Giants, shining in their armor, holding long spears in their hands, and the Nymphs whom they call the Melian ones on the boundless earth.⁹ And when at first he had cut off the genitals with the adamant and thrown them from the land into the strongly surging sea, they were borne along the water for a long time, and a white foam rose up around them from the immortal flesh; and inside this grew a maiden. First she approached holy Cythera, and from there she went on to sea-girt Cyprus. She came forth, a reverend, beautiful goddess, and grass grew up around her beneath her slender feet. Gods and men call her (a) “Aphrodite,” the foam-born goddess and (b) the well-garlanded “Cytherea,” (a) since she grew in the foam, (b) and also “Cytherea,” since she arrived at Cythera, (c) and “Cyprocenea,” since she was born on sea-girt Cyprus, (d) and “genial,” since she came forth from the genitals.¹⁰ Eros accompanied her and beautiful Desire stayed with her as soon as she was born and when she went to the tribe of the gods; and since the beginning she possesses this honor and has received as her lot this portion among human beings and immortal gods—

nymphs, the ash trees with which they are closely associated, and human beings, who may have originated from one or the other of these: cf. *Theogony* 563, *Works and Days* 145.

¹⁰ Hesiod interprets the first half of the name Ἀφροδίτη as though it were derived from ἀφρός (“foam”), and the second half of the traditional epithet φιλομμειδής (“smile-loving”, here translated as “genial” for the sake of the pun) as though it were derived from μῆδος (“genitals”).

205 παρθενίους τ' ὁάρους μειδήματά τ' ἔξαπάτας τε
τέρψιν τε γλυκερὴν φιλότητά τε μειλιχίην τε.

τοὺς δὲ πατὴρ Τιτῆνας ἐπίκλησιν καλέεσκε
παιᾶς νεικείων μέγας Οὐρανός, οὓς τέκεν αὐτός·
φάσκε δὲ τιταίνοντας ἀτασθαλίη μέγα ρέξαι
210 ἔργον, τοῦ δ' ἔπειτα τίσιν μετόπισθεν ἔσεσθαι.

Νὺξ δ' ἔτεκε στυγερόν τε Μόρον καὶ Κῆρα
μέλαιναν

καὶ Θάνατον, τέκε δ' Ἱπνον, ἔτικτε δὲ φῦλον
Ὄνείρων.

214 δεύτερον αὖ Μῶμον καὶ Ὁιζὺν ἀλγινόεσσαν
213 οὐ τινι κοιμηθεῖσα θεῶν τέκε Νὺξ ἐρεβεννή,
215 Ἐσπερίδας θ', αἷς μῆλα πέρην κλυτοῦ Ὡκεανοῦ
χρύσεα καλὰ μέλουσι φέροντά τε δένδρεα καρπόν·
καὶ Μοίρας καὶ Κῆρας ἐγείνατο ηλεοποίους,
Κλωθώ τε Λάχεσίν τε καὶ Ἀτροπον, αἵ τε βροτοῖσι
γεινομένοισι διδοῦσιν ἔχειν ἀγαθόν τε κακόν τε,
220 αἵ τ' ἀνδρῶν τε θεῶν τε παραιβασίας ἐφέπουσιν,
οὐδέ ποτε λήγουσι θεαὶ δεινοῖο χόλοιο,
πρίν γ' ἀπὸ τῷ δώωσι κακὴν ὅπιν, ὅστις ἀμάρτη.
τίκτε δὲ καὶ Νέμεσιν πῆμα θνητοῖσι βροτοῖσι
Νὺξ ὄλοή· μετὰ τὴν δ' Ἀπάτην τέκε καὶ Φιλότητα
225 Γῆράς τ' οὐλόμενον, καὶ Ἔριν τέκε καρτερόθυμον.
αὐτὰρ Ἔρις στυγερὴ τέκε μὲν Πόνον ἀλγινόεντα
Λήθην τε Λιμόν τε καὶ Ἀλγεα δακρυόεντα
Τσμίνας τε Μάχας τε Φόνους τ' Ἀνδροκτασίας τε

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maidenly whispers and smiles and deceits and sweet delight and fondness and gentleness.

(207) But their father, great Sky, called them Titans (Strainers) as a nickname, rebuking his sons, whom he had begotten himself; for he said that they had strained to perform a mighty deed in their wickedness, and that at some later time there would be vengeance for this.

(211) Night bore loathsome Doom and black Fate and Death, and she bore Sleep, and she gave birth to the tribe of Dreams. Second, then, gloomy Night bore Blame and painful Distress, although she had slept with none of the gods, and the Hesperides, who care for the golden, beautiful apples beyond glorious Ocean and the trees bearing this fruit. And she bore (a) Destinies and (b) pitilessly punishing Fates, (a) Clotho (Spinner) and Lachesis (Portion) and Atropos (Inflexible), who give to mortals when they are born both good and evil to have, and (b) who hold fast to the transgressions of both men and gods; and the goddesses never cease from their terrible wrath until they give evil punishment to whoever commits a crime. Deadly Night gave birth to Nemesis (Indignation) too, a woe for mortal human beings; and after her she bore Deceit and Fondness and baneful Old Age, and she bore hard-hearted Strife.

(226) And loathsome Strife bore painful Toil and Forgetfulness and Hunger and tearful Pains, and Combats and Battles and Murders and Slaughters, and Strifes and

213–14 transp. Hermann

218–19 secl. Paley: om. Stobaeus 1. 3. 38 non respiciunt Σvet (habent II⁴ codd. Stobaeus 1. 5. 5)

230 Νείκεά τε Ψεύδεά τε Λόγους τ' Ἀμφιλλογίας τε
 Δυσνομίην τ' Ἀτην τε, συνήθεας ἀλλήλησιν,
 Ὅρκον θ', ὃς δὴ πλεῖστον ἐπιχθονίους ἀνθρώπους
 πημαίνει, ὅτε κέν τις ἔκὰν ἐπίορκον ὁμόσση·

235 Νηρέα δ' ἀψευδέα καὶ ἀληθέα γείνατο Πόντος
 πρεσβύτατον παίδων· αὐτὰρ καλέουσι γέροντα,
 οὗνεκα νημερτής τε καὶ ἥπιος, οὐδὲ θεμίστων
 ληθεται, ἀλλὰ δίκαια καὶ ἥπια δήνεα οἶδεν·
 αὗτις δ' αὖ Θαύμαντα μέγαν καὶ ἀγήνορα Φόρκυν
 Γαίη μισγόμενος καὶ Κητὼ καλλιπάρησον
 Εὐρυβίην τ' ἀδάμαντος ἐνὶ φρεσὶ θυμὸν ἔχουσαν.

240 Νηρῆος δ' ἐγένοντο μεγήριτα τέκνα θεάων
 πόντῳ ἐν ἀτρυγέτῳ καὶ Δωρίδος ἡνκόμοιο,
 κούρης Ὄκεανοιο τελήεντος ποταμοῖο,
 Πρωθώ τ' Εὐκράντη τε Σαώ τ' Ἀμφιτρίτη τε
 Εὐδώρη τε Θέτις τε Γαλήνη τε Γλαύκη τε,
 245 Κυμοθόη Σπειώ τε θοὴ Θαλίη τ' ἐρόεσσα
 Πασιθέη τ' Ερατώ τε καὶ Εὐνίκη ρόδόπηχνς
 καὶ Μελίτη χαρίεσσα καὶ Εὐλιμένη καὶ Ἀγανὴ
 Δωτώ τε Πρωτώ τε Φέρουσά τε Δυναμένη τε
 Νησαίη τε καὶ Ἀκταίη καὶ Πρωτομέδεια,
 250 Δωρὶς καὶ Πανόπη καὶ εὐειδὴς Γαλάτεια
 Ἰπποθόη τ' ἐρόεσσα καὶ Ἰππονόη ρόδόπηχνς
 Κυμοδόκη θ', ἦ κύματ' ἐν ἡεροειδέι πόντῳ
 πνοιάς τε ζαέων ἀνέμων σὺν Κυματολήγη
 ρέια πρηγάνει καὶ ἐνσφύρω Ἀμφιτρίτη,
 255 Κυμώ τ' Ἡιόνη τε ἐνστέφανός θ' Ἀλιμήδη

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Lies and Tales and Disputes, and Lawlessness and Recklessness, much like one another, and Oath, who indeed brings most woe upon human beings on the earth, whenever someone willfully swears a false oath.

(233) Pontus begot Nereus, unerring and truthful, the oldest of his sons; they call him the Old Man, because he is infallible and gentle, and does not forget established customs but contrives just and gentle plans.¹¹ Then, mingling in love with Earth, he begot great Thaumas and manly Phorcys, and beautiful-cheeked Ceto, and Eurybia, who has a heart of adamant in her breast.

(240) And from Nereus and beautiful-haired Doris, the daughter of Ocean the circling river, were born numerous children of goddesses in the barren sea,¹² Protho and Eucrante and Sao and Amphitrite, and Eudora and Thetis and Galene and Glauce, Cymothoe and swift Speo and lovely Thalia, and Pasithea and Erato and rosy-armed Eunice, and graceful Melite and Eulimene and Agave, and Doto and Proto and Pherusa and Dynamene, and Nesaea and Actaea and Protomedea, Doris and Panope and fair-formed Galatea, and lovely Hippothoe and rosy-armed Hippone, and Cymodoce, who together with Cymatolege and fair-ankled Amphitrite easily calms the waves in the murky sea and the blasts of stormy winds, and Cymo and Eone and well-garlanded Halimede, and smile-loving

¹¹ The point of this explanation is unclear.

¹² Many of the names of the Nereids reflect their role as sea nymphs.

Γλαυκονόμη τε φιλομμειδὴς καὶ Ποντοπόρεια
 Λειαγόρη τε καὶ Εὐαγόρη καὶ Λαομέδεια
 Πουλυνόη τε καὶ Αὐτονόη καὶ Λυσιάνασσα
 Εὐάρνη τε φυὴν ἐρατὴ καὶ εἶδος ἄμωμος
 260 καὶ Ψαμάθη χαρίεσσα δέμας δίη τε Μενίππη
 Νησώ τ' Εὐπόμπη τε Θεμιστώ τε Προνόη τε
 Νημερτής θ', ἡ πατρὸς ἔχει νόον ἀθανάτοιο.
 αὗται μὲν Νηρῆος ἀμύμονος ἐξεγένοντο
 κοῦραι πεντήκοντα, ἀμύμονα ἔργ' εἰδυῖαι·

265 Θαύμας δ' Ὄκεανοῦ βαθυρρείταο θύγατρα
 ἡγάγετ' Ἡλέκτρην· ἡ δ' ὡκεῖαν τέκεν Ἰριν
 ἡνκόμους θ' Ἀρπυίας, Ἀελλώ τ' Ὄκυπέτην τε,
 αἱ δὲ ἀνέμων πνοιῆσι καὶ οἰωνοῖς ἀμέρηται
 ὡκείης πτερύγεσσι· μεταχρόνιαι γὰρ ἵαλλον.

270 Φόρκυι δ' αὖ Κητῷ γραίας τέκε καλλιπαρήσους
 ἐκ γενετῆς πολιάς, τὰς δὴ Γραίας καλέουσιν
 ἀθάνατοι τε θεοὶ χαμαὶ ἐρχόμενοι τ' ἄνθρωποι,
 Πεμφρηδώ τ' εὔπεπλον Ἐνυώ τε κροκόπεπλον,
 Γοργούς θ', αἱ ναίουσι πέρην κλυτοῦ Ὄκεανοῦ
 275 ἐσχατιῆ πρὸς νυκτός, ἵν' Ἐσπερίδες λιγύφωνοι,
 Σθεννώ τ' Εύρυνάλη τε Μέδουσά τε λυγρὰ παθοῦσα·
 ἡ μὲν ἔην θυητή, αἱ δὲ ἀθάνατοι καὶ ἀγήρω,
 αἱ δύο· τῇ δὲ μιῇ παρελέξατο Κυανοχαίτης
 ἐν μαλακῷ λειμῶνι καὶ ἄνθεσιν εἰαρινοῖσι·
 280 τῆς ὅτε δὴ Περσεὺς κεφαλὴν ἀπεδειροτόμησεν,
 ἐξέθορε Χρυσάωρ τε μέγας καὶ Πήγασος ἵππος.

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Glauconome and Pontoporea, Leagore and Euagore and Laomedea, Polynoe and Autonoe and Lusianassa, and Euarne, lovely in shape and blameless in form, and Psamathe, graceful in body, and divine Menippe, and Neso and Eupompe and Themisto and Pronoe, and Nemertes (Infallible), who has the disposition of her immortal father. These came forth from excellent Nereus, fifty daughters who know how to do excellent works.

(265) Thaumas married Electra, the daughter of deep-flowing Ocean. She bore swift Iris and the beautiful-haired Harpies, Aello and Ocypete, who with their swift wings keep up with the blasts of the winds and with the birds; for they fly high in the air.

(270) Then to Phorcys Ceto bore beautiful-cheeked old women, gray-haired from their birth, whom both the immortal gods and human beings who walk on the earth call the Graeae, fair-robed Pemphredo and saffron-robed Enyo, and the Gorgons who dwell beyond glorious Ocean at the edge towards the night, where the clear-voiced Hesperides are, Sthenno and Euryale, and Medusa who suffered woes. She was mortal, but the others are immortal and ageless, the two of them; with her alone the dark-haired one¹³ lay down in a soft meadow among spring flowers. When Perseus cut her head off from her neck, great Chrysaor and the horse Pegasus sprang forth; the lat-

¹³ Poseidon.

258 Πουλυνόη Muetzell: -νόμη codd. (Σrec.)

270 γραίας: κούρας Koechly

τῷ μὲν ἐπώνυμον ἦν, ὅτ' ἄρ' Ὁκεανοῦ παρὰ πηγὰς
γένεθ', ὁ δ' ἄορ χρύσειον ἔχων μετὰ χερσὶ φίληστι.
χὼ μὲν ἀποπτάμενος, προλιπὼν χθόνα μητέρα
μῆλων,

285 ἵκετ' ἐς ἀθανάτους· Ζηνὸς δ' ἐν δώμασι ναίει
βροντήν τε στεροπήν τε φέρων Διὶ μητιόεντι·
Χρυσάωρ δ' ἔτεκε τρικέφαλον Γηρυονῆα
μιχθεὶς Καλλιρόη κούρῃ κλυτοῦ Ὁκεανοῖο·
τὸν μὲν ἄρ' ἔξενάριξε βίη Ἡρακληίη
290 βουσὶ πάρ' εἰλιπόδεσσι περιρρύτῳ εἰν Ἐρυθείη
ἡματι τῷ, ὅτε περ βοῦς ἥλασεν εὐρυμετώπους
Τίρυνθ' εἰς ἱερήν, διαβὰς πόρον Ὁκεανοῖο,
ὢρθόν τε κτείνας καὶ βουκόλον Εὐρυτίωνα
σταθμῷ ἐν ἡερόεντι πέρην κλυτοῦ Ὁκεανοῖο.

295 ἡ δ' ἔτεκ' ἄλλο πέλωρὸν ἀμήχανον, οὐδὲν ἐοικὸς
θυητοῖς ἀνθρώποις οὐδ' ἀθανάτοισι θεοῖσι,
σπῆι ἔνι γλαφυρῷ, θείην κρατερόφρον' Ἐχιδναν,
ἡμισυ μὲν νύμφην ἐλικώπιδα καλλιπάρηον,
ἡμισυ δ' αὐτε πέλωρον ὄφιν δεινόν τε μέγαν τε
300 αἰόλον ὡμηστήν, ζαθέης ὑπὸ κεύθεσι γαίης.
ἔνθα δέ οἱ σπέος ἐστὶ κάτω κοίλῃ ὑπὸ πέτρῃ
τηλοῦ ἀπ' ἀθανάτων τε θεῶν θυητῶν τ' ἀνθρώπων,
ἔνθ' ἄρα οἱ δάσσαντο θεοὶ κλυτὰ δώματα ναίειν.
ἡ δ' ἔρυτ' εἰν Ἀρίμοισιν ὑπὸ χθόνα λυγρὴ Ἐχιδνα,

288 habent bQ, legit Tzetzes: om. Π¹⁶ Π²² akS (add. in mg. S¹)

295–336 versus expulerunt alios alii, aliasve distinxerunt
recensiones 300 αἰόλον Scheer (e Σ^{rec}): ποικίλον codd. Δ

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ter received his name from being born beside the waters¹⁴ of Océan, the former from holding a golden sword¹⁵ in his hands. Pegasus flew off, leaving behind the earth, the mother of sheep, and came to the immortals; he dwells in Zeus' house and brings the thunder and lightning to the counsellor Zeus. And Chrysaor, mingling in love with Callirhoe, glorious Ocean's daughter, begot three-headed Geryoneus, who was slain by Heracles' force beside his rolling-footed cattle in sea-girt Erythea on the day when he drove the broad-browed cattle to holy Tiryns, after he crossed over the strait of Ocean and killed Orthus and the cowherd Eurytion in the murky stable beyond glorious Ocean.

(295) She¹⁶ bore in a hollow cave another monster, intractable, not at all similar to mortal human beings or to the immortal gods: divine, strong-hearted Echidna, half a quick-eyed beautiful-cheeked nymph, but half a monstrous snake, terrible and great, shimmering, eating raw flesh, under the hidden places of the holy earth. That is where she has a cave, deep down under a hollow boulder, far from the immortal gods and mortal human beings; for that is where the gods assigned her to dwell in glorious mansions. She keeps guard among the Arima¹⁷ under the

¹⁴ Hesiod derives Pegasus' name from *πηγαί* ("waters").

¹⁵ Hesiod derives Chrysaor's name from *χρύσειον ἄορ* ("golden sword").

¹⁶ Probably Ceto.

¹⁷ Already in antiquity it was unknown whether this was a mountain range or a tribe of people, and where it was located, in Asia Minor or in Italy.

305 ἀθάνατος νύμφη καὶ ἀγήραος ἥματα πάντα.

τῇ δὲ Τυφάονά φασι μιγήμεναι ἐν φιλότητι
δεινόν θ' ὑβριστήν τ' ἄνομόν θ' ἐλικώπιδι κούρῃ·
ἡ δ ὑποκυσαμένη τέκετο κρατερόφρονα τέκνα.

὾ορθον μὲν πρῶτον κύνα γείνατο Γηρυονῆι·

310 δεύτερον αὖτις ἔτικτεν ἀμήχανον, οὐ τι φατειόν,
Κέρβερον ὡμηστήν, Ἀίδεω κύνα χαλκεόφωνον,
πεντηκοντακέφαλον, ἀναιδέα τε κρατερόν τε·
τὸ τρίτον Ὄτδρην αὖτις ἐγείνατο λύγρ' εἰδυῖαν
Λερναίην, ἣν θρέψε θεὰ λευκώλενος Ἡρη

315 ἄπλητον κοτέουσα βίη Ἡρακληίη.

καὶ τὴν μὲν Διὸς υἱὸς ἐνήρατο νηλέι χαλκῷ
Ἄμφιτρυωνιάδης σὺν ἀρηιφίλῳ Ἰολάῳ
Ἡρακλέης βουλῆσιν Ἀθηναίης ἀγελείης.

ἡ δὲ Χίμαιραν ἔτικτε πνέουσαν ἀμαιμάκετον πῦρ,

320 δεινήν τε μεγάλην τε ποδώκεά τε κρατερήν τε.

τῆς ἣν τρεῖς κεφαλαί· μία μὲν χαροποῖο λέοντος,
ἡ δὲ χιμαίρης, ἡ δ' ὄφιος κρατεροῦ δράκοντος.

[πρόσθε λέων, ὄπιθεν δὲ δράκων, μέσση δὲ χίμαιρα,
δεινὸν ἀποπνείουσα πυρὸς μένος αἰθομένοιο.]

325 τὴν μὲν Πήγασος εἶλε καὶ ἐσθλὸς Βελλεροφόντης·

ἡ δ' ἄρα Φῖκ' ὄλοὴν τέκε Καδμείοισιν ὄλεθρον,

὾ορθῷ ὑποδμηθεῖσα, Νεμειαῖόν τε λέοντα,

τόν ρ' Ἡρη θρέψασα Διὸς κυδρὴ παράκοιτις

307 κούρῃ *aS*: νύμφῃ *k*: utrumque *b*

321 τῆς ἣν West: τῆς δ' ἣν *ab* Herodianus et al. gramm.,
Herodianus rhetor: τῆς δ' αὖ *kS* 323–24 (=Il. 6. 181–182)
damn. Wolf 324 om. *a*

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earth, baleful Echidna, an immortal nymph and ageless all her days.

(306) They say that Typhon, terrible, outrageous, lawless, mingled in love with her, a quick-eyed virgin; and she became pregnant and bore strong-hearted children. First she bore Orthus, the dog, for Geryoneus; second, she then gave birth to something intractable, unspeakable, Cerberus who eats raw flesh, the bronze-voiced dog of Hades, fifty-headed, ruthless and mighty; third, she then gave birth to the evil-minded Hydra of Lerna, which the goddess, white-armed Hera, raised, dreadfully wrathful against Heracles' force. But Zeus' son, the scion of Amphitryon, Heracles, slew it with the pitiless bronze, together with warlike Iolaus, by the plans of Athena, leader of the war-host.

(319) She¹⁸ gave birth to Chimaera, who breathed invincible fire, terrible and great and swift-footed and mighty. She had three heads: one was a fierce-eyed lion's, one a she-goat's, one a snake's, a mighty dragon's. [In front a lion, behind a dragon, in the middle a she-goat, breathing forth the terrible strength of burning fire.]¹⁹ Pegasus and noble Bellerophon killed her. Overpowered by Orthus, she²⁰ bore the deadly Sphinx, destruction for the Cadmeans, and the Nemean lion, which Hera, Zeus' illustrious

¹⁸ Probably Echidna.

¹⁹ These two lines are identical with *Il.* 6.181–82; they describe Chimaera in terms of what seems to be a very different anatomy from the one in the preceding lines, and are rejected by many editors as an interpolation.

²⁰ Probably Chimaera.

γονυνοῖσιν κατένασσε Νεμείης, πῆμ' ἀνθρώποις.

330 ἔνθ' ἄρ' ὅ γ' οἰκείων ἐλεφαίρετο φῦλ' ἀνθρώπων,
κοιρανέων Τρητοῦ Νεμείης ἡδ' Ἀπέσαντος·
ἀλλά ἐ ἵς ἐδάμασσε βίης Ἡρακληίης.

Κητὼ δ' ὅπλότατον Φόρκυι φιλότηπι μιγεῖσα
γείνατο δεινὸν ὄφιν, ὃς ἐρεμινῆς κεύθεσι γαίης
335 πείρασιν ἐν μεγάλοις παγχρύσεα μῆλα φυλάσσει.
τοῦτο μὲν ἐκ Κητοῦς καὶ Φόρκυνος γένος ἔστι.

Τηθὺς δ' Ὁκεανῷ ποταμοὺς τέκε δινήεντας,
Νεῦλόν τ' Ἀλφειόν τε καὶ Ἡριδανὸν βαθυδίνην,
Στρυμόνα Μαίανδρόν τε καὶ Ἰστρον καλλιρέεθρον
340 Φᾶσίν τε Ῥησόν τ' Ἀχελῷόν τ' ἀργυροδίνην
Νέσσον τε Ῥοδίον θ' Ἀλιάκμονά θ' Ἐπτάπορόν τε
Γρήνικόν τε καὶ Αἴσηπον θεῖόν τε Σιμοῦντα
Πηνειόν τε καὶ Ἐρμον ἐνρρείτην τε Κάικον
Σαγγάριόν τε μέγαν Λάδωνά τε Παρθένιόν τε
345 Εὔηνόν τε καὶ Ἀλδῆσκον θεῖόν τε Σκάμανδρον.
τίκτε δὲ θυγατέρων ἱερὸν γένος, αἱ κατὰ γαῖαν
ἄνδρας κουρίζουσι σὺν Ἀπόλλωνι ἄνακτι
καὶ ποταμοῖς, ταύτην δὲ Διὸς πάρα μοῖραν ἔχουσι,
Πειθώ τ' Ἀδμήτη τε Ἰάνθη τ' Ἡλέκτρη τε
350 Δωρίς τε Πρυμνώ τε καὶ Οὐρανίη θεοειδὴς
Ἴππώ τε Κλυμένη τε Ῥόδειά τε Καλλιρόη τε
Ζευξώ τε Κλυτίη τε Ἰδυνά τε Πασιθόη τε
Πληξαύρη τε Γαλαξαύρη τ' ἐρατή τε Διώνη

346 θυγατέρων: Κουράων West

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consort, raised and settled among the hills of Nemea, a woe for human beings. For dwelling there it destroyed the tribes of human beings and lorded over Tretus in Nemea and Apesas; but the strength of Heracles' force overpowered it.

(333) Ceto mingled in love with Phorcys and gave birth to her youngest offspring, a terrible snake, which guards the all-golden apples in the hidden places of the dark earth at its great limits. This, then, is the progeny of Ceto and Phorcys.

(337) Tethys bore to Ocean eddying rivers, the Nile and Alpheius and deep-eddying Eridanus, Strymon and Meander and beautiful-flowing Ister, and Phasis and Rhesus and silver-eddying Achelous, and Nessus and Rhodius and Haliacmon and Heptaporus, and Grenicus and Aesepus and divine Simois, and Peneius and Hermus and fair-flowing Caicus, and great Sangarius and Ladon and Parthenius, and Euenus and Aldescus and divine Scamander. And she gave birth to a holy race of daughters²¹ who, together with lord Apollo and the rivers, raise boys so that they become men on the earth, for this is the lot they have from Zeus: Peitho and Admete and Ianthe and Electra, and Doris and Prymno and Ourania of godlike figure, and Hippo and Clymene and Rhodea and Callirhoe, and Zeuxo and Clytia and Idyia and Pasithoe, and Plexaura and Galaxaura and lovely Dione, and Melobosis and Thoe

²¹ Many of the names of the Oceanids reflect their roles as nymphs of fountains and groves and as protectresses of youths.

Μηλόβοσίς τε Θόη τε καὶ εὐειδὴς Πολυδώρη

355 Κερκηίς τε φυὴν ἐρατὴ Πλουτώ τε βοῶπις
 Περσηίς τ' Ἰάνειρά τ' Ἀκάστη τε Ξάνθη τε
 Πετραίη τ' ἐρόεσσα Μενεσθώ τ' Εὐρώπη τε
 Μῆτίς τ' Εὐρυνόμη τε Τελεστώ τε κροκόπεπλος
 Χρυσηίς τ' Ἀσίη τε καὶ ἴμερόεσσα Καλυψώ
 360 Εὐδώρη τε Τύχη τε καὶ Ἀμφιρὼ Ὡκυρόη τε
 καὶ Στύξ, ἢ δή σφεων προφερεστάτη ἐστὶν ἀπασέων.
 αὗται ἄρ' Ὡκεανοῦ καὶ Τηθύος ἔξεγένοντο
 πρεσβύταται κοῦραι· πολλαί γε μέν εἰσι καὶ ἄλλαι·
 τρὶς γὰρ χίλιαι εἰσι τανίσφυροι Ὡκεανῖναι,
 365 αἱ δα πολυσπερέες γαῖαν καὶ βένθεα λίμνης
 πάντη διμῶς ἐφέπουσι, θεάων ἀγλαὰ τέκνα.
 τόσσοι δ' αὐθ' ἔτεροι ποταμοὶ καναχηδὰ ρέοντες,
 νιέες Ὡκεανοῦ, τοὺς γείνατο πότνια Τηθύς·
 τῶν ὄνομ' ἀργαλέον πάντων βροτὸν ἄνδρα ἐνισπεῖν,
 370 οἱ δὲ ἔκαστοι ἵσασιν, ὅσοι περιναιετάουσι.

Θεία δ' Ἡέλιόν τε μέγαν λαμπράν τε Σελήνην
 'Ηῶ θ', ἢ πάντεσσιν ἐπιχθονίοισι φαείνει
 ἀθανάτοις τε θεοῖσι τοὶ οὐρανὸν εὐρὺν ἔχοντες,
 γείναθ' ὑποδμηθεῖσ' Ὄπερίονος ἐν φιλότητι.

375 Κρείω δ' Εὐρυβίη τέκεν ἐν φιλότητι μιγεῖσα
 Ἀστραῖόν τε μέγαν Πάλλαντά τε δῖα θεάων
 Πέρσην θ', ὃς καὶ πᾶσι μετέπρεπεν ἴδμοσύνησιν.
 Ἀστραίω δ' Ἡῶς ἀνέμους τέκε καρτεροθύμους,
 ἀργεστὴν Ζέφυρον Βορέην τ' αἰψηροκέλευθον
 380 καὶ Νότον, ἐν φιλότητι θεὰ θεῶν εὐνηθεῖσα.
 τοὺς δὲ μέτ' ἀστέρα τίκτεν Ἐωσφόρον Ἡριγένεια

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and Polydora of fair figure, and Cerceis, lovely of form, and cow-eyed Pluto, and Perseis and Ianeira and Acaste and Xanthe, and lovely Petraea and Menestho and Europa, and Metis and Eurynome and saffron-robed Telesto, and Chryseis and Asia and lovely Calypso, and Eudora and Tyche and Amphiros and Ocyrhoe, and Styx, who indeed is the greatest of them all. These came forth from Ocean and Tethys as the oldest maidens; but there are many others as well. For there are three thousand long-ankled daughters of Ocean who are widely dispersed and hold fast to the earth and the depths of the waters, everywhere in the same way, splendid children of goddesses; and there are just as many other loud-flowing rivers, sons of Ocean, to whom queenly Tethys gave birth. The names of them all it is difficult for a mortal man to tell, but each of those who dwell around them knows them.

(371) Theia, overpowered in love by Hyperion, gave birth to great Helius (Sun) and gleaming Selene (Moon) and Eos (Dawn), who shines for all those on the earth and for the immortal gods who possess the broad sky. Eurybia, revered among goddesses, mingling in love, bore to Crius great Astraeus and Pallas and Perseus, who was conspicuous among all for his intelligence. Eos, a goddess bedded in love with a god, bore to Astraeus the strong-spirited winds, clear Zephyrus and swift-pathed Boreas and Notus; and after these the Early-born one²² bore the star, Dawn-

²² The Dawn.

358 Τελευτώ νΔ: Τελεσθώ

362 ἄρ' West: δ' codd.

370 ἔκαστα Σ (?) Eustathius: -οι codd.

379 ἀργεστὴν Jacoby: ἀργέστην codd.

ἀστρά τε λαμπετόωντα, τά τ' οὐρανὸς ἐστεφάνωται.

Στὺξ δ' ἔτεκ' Ὁκεανοῦ θυγάτηρ Πάλλαντι μιγεῖσα
Ζῆλον καὶ Νίκην καλλίσφυρον ἐν μεγάροισι

385 καὶ Κράτος ἡδὲ Βίην ἀριδείκετα γείνατο τέκνα.

τῶν οὐκ ἔστ' ἀπάνευθε Διὸς δόμος, οὐδέ τις ἔδρη,
οὐδ' ὁδός, ὅπη μὴ κείνοις θεὸς ἡγεμονεύει,
ἀλλ' αἰεὶ πὰρ Ζηνὶ βαρυκτύπῳ ἔδριόωνται.

ώς γὰρ ἐβούλευσε Στὺξ ἄφθιτος Ὁκεανίνη

390 ἥματι τῷ, ὅτε πάντας Ὄλυμπιος ἀστεροπητὴς
ἀθανάτους ἐκάλεσσε θεοὺς ἐς μακρὸν Ὄλυμπον,
εἰπε δ', ὃς ἀν μετὰ εἴο θεῶν Τιτῆσι μάχοιτο,
μή τιν' ἀπορραίστειν γεράων, τιμὴν δὲ ἔκαστον
έξέμεν ἦν τὸ πάρος γε μετ' ἀθανάτοισι θεοῖσι.

395 τὸν δ' ἔφαθ', ὅστις ἄτιμος ὑπὸ Κρόνου ἡδ'
ἀγέραστος,

τιμῆς καὶ γεράων ἐπιβησέμεν, ἦ θέμις ἐστίν.

ἥλθε δ' ἄρα πρώτη Στὺξ ἄφθιτος Οὐλυμπόνδε
σὺν σφοῖσιν παίδεσσι φίλον διὰ μῆδεα πατρός·
τὴν δὲ Ζεὺς τίμησε, περισσὰ δὲ δῶρα ἔδωκεν.

400 αὐτὴν μὲν γὰρ ἔθηκε θεῶν μέγαν ἔμμεναι ὅρκον,
παιδας δ' ἥματα πάντα ἔοῦ μεταναιέτας εἶναι.

ώς δ' αὐτῶς πάντεσσι διαμπερές, ὡς περ ὑπέστη,
έξετέλεσσ'. αὐτὸς δὲ μέγα κρατεῖ ἡδὲ ἀνάσσει.

Φοίβη δ' αὖ Κοίου πολυήρατον ἥλθεν ἐς εὐνήν.

405 κυσαμένη δῆπειτα θεὰ θεοῦ ἐν φιλότητι

Λητὸν κυανόπεπλον ἐγείνατο, μείλιχον αἰεί,

ἥπιον ἀνθρώποισι καὶ ἀθανάτοισι θεοῖσι,

μείλιχον ἐξ ἀρχῆς, ἀγανώτατον ἐντὸς Ὄλυμπου.

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bringer, and the shining stars with which the sky is crowned.

(383) Styx, Ocean's daughter, mingling with Pallas, bore Zelus (Rivalry) and beautiful-ankled Nike (Victory) in her house, and she gave birth to Cratos (Supremacy) and Bia (Force), eminent children. These have no house apart from Zeus nor any seat, nor any path except that on which the god leads them, but they are always seated next to deep-thundering Zeus. For this is what Styx, Ocean's eternal daughter, planned on the day when the Olympian lightener²³ summoned all the immortal gods to high Olympus and said that, whoever of the gods would fight together with him against the Titans, him he would not strip of his privileges, but that every one would have the honor he had had before among the immortal gods; and that whoever had been without honor and without privilege because of Cronus, him he would raise to honor and privileges, as is established right. So eternal Styx came first of all to Olympus with her own children, through the plans of her dear father; and Zeus honored her and gave her exceptional gifts. For he set her to be the great oath of the gods, and her sons to dwell with him for all their days. Just as he promised, so too he fulfilled for all, through and through; and he himself rules mightily and reigns.

(404) Phoebe came to the lovely bed of Coeus; and the goddess, pregnant in the love of a god, gave birth to dark-robed Leto, always soothing, gentle to human beings and to the immortal gods, soothing from the beginning, the kindest one within Olympus. She also gave birth to fair-

²³ Zeus.

γείνατο δ' Ἀστερίην εὐώνυμον, ἦν ποτε Πέρσης
410 ἡγάγετ' ἐς μέγα δῶμα φίλην κεκλήσθαι ἄκοιτιν.

ἡ δ' ὑποκυσαμένη Ἐκάτην τέκε, τὴν περὶ πάντων
Ζεὺς Κρονίδης τύμησε πόρεν δέ οἱ ἀγλαὰ δῶρα,
μοῖραν ἔχειν γαίης τε καὶ ἀτρυγέτοιο θαλάσσης.
ἡ δὲ καὶ ἀστερόεντος ἀπ' οὐρανοῦ ἔμμορε τιμῆς,
415 ἀθανάτοις τε θεοῖσι τετιμένη ἐστὶ μάλιστα.
καὶ γὰρ νῦν, ὅτε πού τις ἐπιχθονίων ἀνθρώπων
ἔρδων ἱερὰ καλὰ κατὰ νόμον ἴλασκηται,
κικλήσκει Ἐκάτην πολλή τέ οἱ ἐσπετο τιμὴ
ρέια μάλ', ὡς πρόφρων γε θεὰ ὑποδέξεται εὐχάσ,
420 καί τέ οἱ ὅλβον ὀπάζει, ἐπεὶ δύναμίς γε πάρεστιν.
ὅσσοι γὰρ Γαίης τε καὶ Οὐρανοῦ ἔξεγένοντο
καὶ τιμὴν ἔλαχον, τούτων ἔχει αἰσταν ἀπάντων
οὐδέ τί μιν Κρονίδης ἐβιήσατο οὐδέ τ' ἀπηύρα,
ὅσσ' ἔλαχεν Τιτῆσι μέτα προτέροισι θεοῖσιν,
425 ἀλλ' ἔχει, ὡς τὸ πρῶτον ἀπ' ἀρχῆς ἔπλετο δασμός.
οὐδ', ὅτι μουνογενῆς, ἥσσον θεὰ ἔμμορε τιμῆς
καὶ γεράων γαίη τε καὶ οὐρανῷ ἡδὲ θαλάσση,
ἀλλ' ἔτι καὶ πολὺ μᾶλλον, ἐπεὶ Ζεὺς τίεται αὐτήν.
ὡς δ' ἐθέλη, μεγάλως παραγίνεται ἡδ' ὀνίνησιν.
430 ἐν τ' ἀγορῇ λαοῖσι μεταπρέπει, ὅν κ' ἐθέλησιν.
ἡδ' ὅπότ' ἐς πόλεμον φθισήνορα θωρήσσωνται
ἀνέρες, ἐνθα θεὰ παραγίνεται, οἷς κ' ἐθέλησι
νίκην προφρονέως ὀπάσαι καὶ κῦδος ὄρέξαι.
ἐν τε δίκῃ βασιλεῦσι παρ' αἰδοίοισι καθίζει,

427 γεράων van Lennep: γέριας ἐν Π²⁵ak

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named Asteria, whom Perses once led to his great house to be called his dear wife.

(411) And she became pregnant and bore Hecate, whom Zeus, Cronus' son, honored above all others: he gave her splendid gifts—to have a share of the earth and of the barren sea, and from the starry sky as well she has a share in honor, and is honored most of all by the immortal gods. For even now, whenever any human on the earth seeks propitiation by performing fine sacrifices according to custom, he invokes Hecate; and much honor very easily stays with that man whose prayers the goddess accepts with gladness, and she bestows happiness upon him, for this power she certainly has. For of all those who came forth from Earth and Sky and received honor, among all of these she has her due share; and neither did Cronus' son use force against her nor did he deprive her of anything that she had received as her portion among the Titans, the earlier gods, but she is still in possession according to the division as it was made at first from the beginning. Nor does the goddess, just because she is an only child, have a lesser share of honor and privileges on earth and in sky and sea, but instead she has far more, since Zeus honors her. She stands mightily at the side of whomever she wishes and helps him. In the assembly, whoever she wishes is conspicuous among the people; and when men arm themselves for man-destroying war, the goddess stands there by the side of whomever she wishes, zealously to grant victory and to stretch forth glory. She sits in judgment beside reverend kings; and again, she is good whenever men

434 ante 433 Π²⁵, ante (sive post) 430 Schoemann

435 ἐσθλὴ δ' αὐθ' ὅπότ' ἄνδρες ἀεθλεύωσ' ἐν ἀγῶνι·
 ἔνθα θεὰ καὶ τοῖς παραγίνεται ἡδ' ὀνίνησι,
 νικήσας δὲ βίη καὶ κάρτει, καλὸν ἀεθλον
 ρεῖα φέρει χαίρων τε, τοκεῦσι δὲ κῦδος ὀπάζει.
 ἐσθλὴ δ' ἵππήεσσι παρεστάμεν, οἷς κ' ἐθέλησιν
 440 καὶ τοῖς, οἷ γλαυκὴν δυσπέμφελον ἐργάζονται,
 εὔχονται δ' Ἐκάτη καὶ ἐρικτύπω 'Εννοσιγαίω,
 ρηιδίως ἄγρην κυδρὴ θεὸς ὥπασε πολλήν,
 ρεῖα δ' ἀφείλετο φαινομένην, ἐθέλουσά γε θυμῷ.
 ἐσθλὴ δ' ἐν σταθμοῖσι σὺν Ἐρμῇ ληίδ' ἀέξειν·
 445 βουκολίας τ' ἀγέλας τε καὶ αἰπόλια πλατέ' αἰγῶν
 ποίμνιας τ' εἰροπόκων ὁίων, θυμῷ γ' ἐθέλουσα,
 ἐξ ὀλίγων βριάει κάκ πολλῶν μείονα θῆκεν.
 οὗτω τοι καὶ μουνογενῆς ἐκ μητρὸς ἐοῦσα
 πᾶσι μετ' ἀθανάτοισι τετίμηται γεράεσσι.
 450 θῆκε δέ μιν Κρονίδης κουροτρόφον, οἷ μετ' ἐκείνην
 ὀφθαλμοῖσιν ἴδοντο φάος πολυδερκέος Ἡοῦς.
 οὗτως ἐξ ἀρχῆς κουροτρόφος, αἱ δέ τε τιμαί.

‘Ρείη δὲ δμηθεῖσα Κρόνω τέκε φαίδιμα τέκνα,
 ‘Ιστίην Δήμητρα καὶ Ἡρην χρυσοπέδιλον,
 455 ἵφθιμόν τ' Ἀίδην, ὃς ὑπὸ χθονὶ δώματα ναίει
 νηλεέες ἥτορ ἔχων, καὶ ἐρίκτυπον 'Εννοσίγαιον,
 Ζῆνά τε μητιόεντα, θεῶν πατέρ' ἡδὲ καὶ ἀνδρῶν,
 τοῦ καὶ ὑπὸ βροντῆς πελεμίζεται εὐρεῖα χθών.

435 ἀεθλεύωσ' ἐν ἀ. West (-ωσιν ἀ. Koechly): ἐν ἀγῶνι
 ἀθλεύωσι(ν) b: αγωνι a[Π²⁵: ἀγ. ἀ(ε)θλ. kS(a)

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are competing in an athletic contest—there the goddess stands by their side too and helps them, and when someone has gained victory by force and supremacy he easily and joyfully carries off a fine prize and grants glory to his parents; and she is good at standing by the side of horsemen, whomever she wishes. And upon those who work the bright, storm-tossed sea and pray to Hecate and the loud-sounding Earth-shaker,²⁴ the illustrious goddess easily bestows a big haul of fish, and easily she takes it away once it has been seen, if she so wishes in her spirit. And she is good in the stables at increasing the livestock together with Hermes; and the herds and droves of cattle, and the broad flocks of goats and the flocks of woolly sheep, if in her spirit she so wishes, from a few she strengthens them and from many she makes them fewer. And so, even though she is an only child from her mother, she is honored with privileges among all the immortals. And Cronus' son made her the nurse of all the children who after her see with their eyes the light of much-seeing Dawn. Thus since the beginning she is a nurse, and these are her honors.

(453) Rhea, overpowered by Cronus, bore him splendid children, Hestia, Demeter, and golden-sandaled Hera, and powerful Hades, who dwells in mansions beneath the earth and has a pitiless heart, and the loud-sounding Earth-shaker and the counsellor Zeus, the father of gods and of men, by whose thunder the broad earth is shaken.

²⁴ Poseidon.

445 τ' ἀγέλας: δὲ βοῶν West

καὶ τοὺς μὲν κατέπινε μέγας Κρόνος, ὡς τις ἔκαστος
 460 νηδύος ἐξ ἵερῆς μητρὸς πρὸς γούναθ' ἵκοιτο,
 τὰ φρονέων, ἵνα μή τις ἀγανῶν Οὐρανιῶνων
 ἄλλος ἐν ἀθανάτοισιν ἔχοι βασιλῆδα τιμῆν.
 πεύθετο γὰρ Γαίης τε καὶ Οὐρανοῦ ἀστερόεντος
 οῦνεκά οἱ πέπρωτο ἐῳ̑ ὑπὸ παιδὶ δαμῆναι,
 465 καὶ κρατερῷ περ ἐόντι, Διὸς μεγάλου διὰ βουλάς.
 τῷ δὲ γέ ἄρ' οὐκ ἀλαοσκοπιὴν ἔχεν, ἀλλὰ δοκεύων
 παιδας ἔοὺς κατέπινε· 'Ρέην δὲ ἔχε πένθος ἄλαστον.
 ἀλλ' ὅτε δὴ Δί' ἔμελλε θεῶν πατέρ' ἥδε καὶ ἀνδρῶν
 τέξεσθαι, τότε ἔπειτα φίλους λιτάνευε τοκῆας
 470 τοὺς αὐτῆς, Γαῖαν τε καὶ Οὐρανὸν ἀστερόεντα,
 μῆτιν συμφράσσασθαι, ὅπως λελάθοιτο τεκοῦσα
 παιδα φίλον, τείσαιτο δὲ ἔρινῦς πατρὸς ἑοῖο
 παιδῶν <θέ> οὓς κατέπινε μέγας Κρόνος
 ἀγκυλομήτης.
 οἱ δὲ θυγατρὶ φίλῃ μάλα μὲν κλύον ἥδ' ἐπίθοντο,
 475 καὶ οἱ πεφραδέτην, ὅσα περ πέπρωτο γενέσθαι
 ἀμφὶ Κρόνῳ βασιλῆι καὶ νἱέι καρτεροθύμῳ.
 πέμψαν δὲ ἐς Λύκτον, Κρήτης ἐς πίονα δῆμον,
 ὅππότε ἄρ' ὅπλότατον παιδῶν ἥμελλε τεκέσθαι,
 Ζῆνα μέγαν· τὸν μέν οἱ ἐδέξατο Γαῖα πελώρη
 480 Κρήτη ἐν εὐρείῃ τρεφέμεν ἀτιταλλέμεναί τε.
 ἐνθά μιν ἵκτο φέρουσα θοὴν διὰ νύκτα μέλαιναν
 πρώτην ἐς Λύκτον· κρύψεν δέ ἐχερσὶ λαβοῦσα
 ἄντρω ἐν ἡλιβάτῳ, ζαθέης ὑπὸ κεύθεσι γαίης,
 Αἰγαίῳ ἐν ὅρει πεπυκασμένῳ ὑλήεντι.
 485 τῷ δὲ σπαργανίσασα μέγαν λίθον ἐγγυάλιξεν

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Great Cronus would swallow these down as each one came from his mother's holy womb to her knees, mindful lest anyone else of Sky's illustrious children should have the honor of kingship among the immortals. For he had heard from Earth and starry Sky that, mighty though he was, he was destined to be overpowered by a child of his, through the plans of great Zeus. For this reason, then, he held no unseeing watch, but observed closely, and swallowed down his children; and unremitting grief gripped Rhea. But when she was about to bear Zeus, the father of gods and of men, she beseeched her own dear parents, Earth and starry Sky, to contrive some scheme so that she could bear her dear son without being noticed, and take retribution for the avenging deities of her father and of her children, whom great crooked-counseled Cronus had swallowed down. They listened well to their dear daughter and obeyed her, and they revealed to her everything that was fated to come about concerning Cronus the king and his strong-spirited son. They told her to go to Lyctus, to the rich land of Crete, when she was about to bear the youngest of her children, great Zeus; and huge Earth received him in broad Crete to nurse him and rear him up. There she came first to Lyctus, carrying him through the swift black night; taking him in her hands she concealed him in a deep cave, under the hidden places of the holy earth, in the Aegean mountain, abounding with forests. And she wrapped a great stone in swaddling-clothes and put it into

477–84 exp. Goettling; duas recensiones 477, 481–4; 478–80
dist. Hermann

Οὐρανίδη μέγ' ἄνακτι, θεῶν προτέρων βασιλῆι.
 τὸν τόθ' ἐλῶν χείρεσσιν ἔὴν ἐσκάτθετο νηδύν,
 σχέτλιος, οὐδ' ἐνόησε μετὰ φρεσίν, ὡς οἱ ὀπίσσω
 ἀντὶ λίθου ἔὸς νιὸς ἀνίκητος καὶ ἀκηδῆς
 490 λείπεθ', ὅ μιν τάχ' ἔμελλε βίη καὶ χερσὶ δαμάσσας
 τιμῆς ἔξελάαν, ὁ δ' ἐν ἀθανάτοισιν ἀνάξειν.
 καρπαλίμως δ' ἄρ' ἔπειτα μένος καὶ φαίδιμα
 γυνία
 ηὔξετο τοῦτο ἄνακτος· ἐπιπλομένου δ' ἐνιαυτοῦ,
 Γαίης ἐννεσίησι πολυφραδέεσσι δολωθείσ,
 495 ὃν γόνον ἀψ ἀνέηκε μέγας Κρόνος ἀγκυλομήτης,
 νικηθεὶς τέχνησι βίηφί τε παιδὸς ἔοιο.
 πρῶτον δ' ἔξήμησε λίθον, πύματον καταπίνων·
 τὸν μὲν Ζεὺς στήριξε κατὰ χθονὸς εὐρυοδείης
 Πυθοῖ ἐν ἡγαθέῃ, γυάλοις ὅπο Παρνησσοῖο,
 500 σῆμ' ἔμεν ἔξοπίσω, θαῦμα θυητοῖσι βροτοῖσι.
 λῦσε δὲ πατροκαστιγνήτους ὄλοῶν ὑπὸ δεσμῶν,
 Οὐρανίδας, οὓς δῆσε πατὴρ ἀεσιφροσύνησιν·
 οἵ οἱ ἀπεμνήσαντο χάριν εὐεργεσιάων,
 δῶκαν δὲ βροντὴν ἡδ' αἰθαλόεντα κεραυνὸν
 505 καὶ στεροπήν· τὸ πρὸν δὲ πελώρη Γαῖα κεκεύθει·
 τοῖς πίσυνος θυητοῖσι καὶ ἀθανάτοισιν ἀνάστει.

κούρην δ' Ἰαπετὸς καλλίσφυρον Ὄκεανίνην
 ἡγάγετο Κλυμένην καὶ ὅμὸν λέχος εἰσανέβαινεν.
 ἡ δέ οἱ Ἀτλαντα κρατερόφρονα γείνατο παῖδα,

486 προτέρων West: -ω codd.

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the hand of Sky's son, the great ruler, the king of the earlier gods.²⁵ He seized this with his hands and put it down into his belly—cruel one, nor did he know in his spirit that in place of the stone his son remained hereafter, unconquered and untroubled, who would overpower him with force and his own hands, and would soon drive him out from his honor and be king among the immortals.

(492) Swiftly then the king's strength and his splendid limbs grew; and when a year had revolved, great crooked-counselled Cronus, deceived by Earth's very clever suggestions, brought his offspring up again, overcome by his son's devices and force. First he vomited up the stone, since he had swallowed it down last of all; Zeus set it fast in the broad-pathed earth in sacred Pytho, down in the valleys of Parnassus, to be a sign thereafter, a marvel for mortal human beings.

(501) And he freed from their deadly bonds his father's brothers, Sky's sons, whom their father had bound in his folly.²⁶ And they repaid him in gratitude for his kind deed, giving him the thunder and the blazing thunderbolt and the lightning, which huge Earth had concealed before. Relying on these, he rules over mortals and immortals.

(507) Iapetus married Clymene, Ocean's beautiful-ankled daughter, and went up into the same bed with her. She bore him Atlas, a strong-hearted son, and gave birth to

25 The Titans.

26 The Cyclopes.

492–506 secl. Arth. Meyer, Jacoby (492–500 Guyet, 501–6 Wolf)

493 ἐπιπλομένου δ' ἐνιαυτοῦ BkΣ: ἐπιπλομένων δ' ἐνιαυτῶν a

510 τίκτε δ' ὑπερκύδαντα Μενοίτιον ἡδὲ Προμηθέα,
 ποικίλον αἰολόμητιν, ἀμαρτίνοόν τ' Ἐπιμηθέα·
 ὃς κακὸν ἐξ ἀρχῆς γένετ' ἀνδράσιν ἀλφηστῆσι
 πρῶτος γάρ ῥα Διὸς πλαστὴν ὑπέδεκτο γυναικα
 παρθένον. ὑβριστὴν δὲ Μενοίτιον εὐρύοπα Ζεὺς
 515 εἰς ἔρεβος κατέπεμψε βαλὰν ψολόεντι κεραυνῷ
 εἶνεκ' ἀτασθαλίης τε καὶ ἡνορέης ὑπερόπλου.
 "Ατλας δ' οὐρανὸν εὐρὺν ἔχει κρατερῆς ὑπ' ἀνάγκης,
 πείρασιν ἐν γαίης πρόπαρ' Ἐσπερίδων λιγνφώνων
 ἐστηώς, κεφαλῆ τε καὶ ἀκαμάτησι χέρεσσι·
 520 ταύτην γάρ οἱ μοῖραν ἐδάσσατο μητίετα Ζεύς.
 δῆσε δ' ἀλυκτοπέδησι Προμηθέα ποικιλόβουλον,
 δεσμοῖς ἀργαλέοισι, μέσον διὰ κίον' ἐλάσσας·
 καί οἱ ἐπ' αἰετὸν ὥρσε τανύπτερον· αὐτὰρ ὅ γ' ἥπαρ
 ἥσθιεν ἀθάνατον, τὸ δ' ἀέξετο ἵσον ἀπάντη
 525 νυκτός, ὃσον πρόπαν ἥμαρ ἔδοι τανυσίπτερος ὄρνις.
 τὸν μὲν ἄρ' Ἀλκμήνης καλλισφύρου ἀλκιμος νίὸς
 Ἡρακλέης ἔκτεινε, κακὴν δ' ἀπὸ νοῦσον ἀλαλκεν
 Ἰαπετιονίδη καὶ ἐλύσατο δυσφροσυνάων,
 οὐκ ἀέκητι Ζηνὸς Ὀλυμπίου ὑψι μέδοντος,
 530 ὅφρ' Ἡρακλῆος Θηβαγενέος κλέος εἴη
 πλεῖον ἔτ' ἡ τὸ πάροιθεν ἐπὶ χθόνα πουλυβότειραν.
 ταῦτ' ἄρα ἀζόμενος τίμα ἀριδείκετον νίόν·
 καί περ χωόμενος παύθη χόλου, ὃν πρὶν ἔχεσκεν,
 οῦνεκ' ἐρίζετο βουλὰς ὑπέρμενέι Κρονίωνι.
 535 καὶ γὰρ ὅτ' ἐκρίνοντο θεοὶ θυητοί τ' ἄνθρωποι

519 (=747) exp. Guyet

526–34 exp. Paley

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the very renowned Menoetius and to Prometheus (Forethought), shifty, quick-scheming, and to mistaken-minded Epimetheus (Afterthought)—he who turned out to be an evil from the beginning for men who live on bread, for he was the one who first accepted Zeus' fabricated woman, the maiden. Far-seeing Zeus hurled down outrageous Menoetius into Erebus, striking him with a smoking thunderbolt because of his wickedness and defiant manhood. And by mighty necessity Atlas holds up the sky with his head and with his tireless hands, standing at the limits of the earth in front of the clear-voiced Hesperides; for this is the portion which the counsellor Zeus assigned him. And with painful fetters he bound shifty-planning Prometheus, with distressful bonds, driving them through the middle of a pillar; and he set upon him a long-winged eagle which ate his immortal liver, but this grew again on all sides at night just as much as the long-winged bird would eat during the whole day. It was killed by Heracles, the strong son of beautiful-ankled Alcmene, who warded off the evil plague from Iapetus' son and released him from distress—not against the will of Olympian Zeus, who rules on high, so that the glory of Theban-born Heracles would become even greater than before upon the bounteous earth. With this in mind, he honored his eminent son; and although he was angry with Prometheus, he ceased from the anger which he had had before because Prometheus had contended in counsels with Cronus' very strong son.

(535) For when the gods and mortal men were reaching

Μηκώνη, τότ' ἔπειτα μέγαν βοῦν πρόφρονι θυμῷ
δαστάμενος προύθηκε, Διὸς νόον ἔξαπαφίσκων.
τῷ μὲν γὰρ σάρκας τε καὶ ἔγκατα πίονα δημῷ
ἐν ρινῷ κατέθηκε, καλύψας γαστρὶ βοείη,
τῷ δ' αὐτὸν ὄστέα λευκὰ βοὸς δολίη ἐπὶ τέχνη
εὐθετίσας κατέθηκε, καλύψας ἀργέτι δημῷ.

δὴ τότε μιν προσέειπε πατὴρ ἀνδρῶν τε θεῶν τε
“Ιαπετιονίδη, πάντων ἀριδείκετ' ἀνάκτων,
ὦ πέπον, ὡς ἐτεροζήλως διεδάσσαο μοίρας.”

545 ὡς φάτο κερτομέων Ζεὺς ἄφθιτα μήδεα εἰδώς·
τὸν δ' αὐτεῖ προσέειπε Προμηθεὺς ἀγκυλομήτης,
ἥκ' ἐπιμειδήσας, δολίης δ' οὐ λήθετο τέχνης·
“Ζεῦ κύδιστε μέγιστε θεῶν αἰειγενετάων,
τῶν δ' ἔλευ ὁπποτέρην σε ἐνὶ φρεσὶ θυμὸς ἀνώγει”.

550 φῆ ρά δολοφρονέων· Ζεὺς δ' ἄφθιτα μήδεα εἰδὼς
γνῶ ρ' οὐδ' ἡγνοίησε δόλον· κακὰ δ' ὄσσετο θυμῷ
θυητοῖς ἀνθρώποισι, τὰ καὶ τελέεσθαι ἔμελλε.
χερσὶ δ' ὅ γ' ἀμφοτέρησιν ἀνεύλετο λευκὸν ἄλειφαρ,
χώσατο δὲ φρένας ἀμφί, χόλος δέ μιν ἵκετο θυμόν,
555 ὡς ἔδει ὄστέα λευκὰ βοὸς δολίη ἐπὶ τέχνη.

537 διὸς Tr. (Lpc in ras.): ζηνὸς codd.

538 τῷ codd.: τοῖς Byz. Schoemann: τῇ Guyet

540 τῷ codd.: τῇ Guyet: τοῖς West

27 The precise meaning of the verb Hesiod uses is obscure; it seems to indicate that gods and men were now being separated definitively from one another, presumably after a time when they had been together.

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a settlement²⁷ in Mecone, with eager spirit he divided up a great ox and, trying to deceive Zeus' mind, set it before him. For he set down on the skin before him the meat and the innards, rich with fat, hiding them in the ox's stomach; and then he set down before him in turn the ox's white bones, arranging them with deceptive craft, hiding them with gleaming fat.²⁸

(542) Then the father of men and of gods addressed him: "Son of Iapetus, eminent among all rulers, my fine fellow, how unfairly you have divided up the portions!"

(545) So spoke in mockery Zeus, who knows eternal counsels; but crooked-counseled Prometheus addressed him in turn, smiling slightly, and he did not forget his deceptive craft: "Zeus, most renowned, greatest of the eternally living gods, choose from these whichever your spirit in your breast bids you."

(550) So he spoke, plotting deception. But Zeus, who knows eternal counsels, recognized the deception and did not fail to perceive it; and he saw in his spirit evils for mortal human beings—ones that were going to be fulfilled, too. With both hands he grasped the white fat, and he became enraged in his breast and wrath came upon his spirit when he saw the ox's white bones, the result of the decep-

²⁸ This passage has been much misunderstood and often emended. But the transmitted text makes excellent sense, so long as we recall that in epic usage, $\mu\acute{e}v$ and $\delta\acute{e}$ can distinguish not only two persons but also two actions directed towards the same person (cf. *Il.* 4.415–17, 8.257–59, 8.323–35, 17.193–96, 18.438–42). Prometheus sets both portions before Zeus and lets him choose freely between them.

ἐκ τοῦ δ' ἀθανάτουσιν ἐπὶ χθονὶ φῦλ' ἀνθρώπων
καίουσ' ὁστέα λευκὰ θυηέντων ἐπὶ βωμῶν.

τὸν δὲ μέγ' ὁχθήσας προσέφη νεφεληγερέτα Ζεύς·

“ Ἱαπετιονίδη, πάντων πέρι μῆδεα εἰδώς,

560 ὡς πέπον, οὐκ ἄρα πω δολίης ἐπελήθεο τέχνης”.

ώς φάτο χωόμενος Ζεὺς ἄφθιτα μῆδεα εἰδώς.

ἐκ τούτου δῆπειτα χόλου μεμνημένος αἰεὶ

οὐκ ἐδίδον μελίησι πυρὸς μένος ἀκαμάτοιο

θυητοῖς ἀνθρώποις οἱ ἐπὶ χθονὶ ναιετάουσιν·

565 ἀλλά μιν ἐξαπάτησεν ἐὺς πάις Ἱαπετοῦ

κλέψας ἀκαμάτοιο πυρὸς τηλέσκοπον αὐγὴν

ἐν κοίλῳ νάρθηκι· δάκεν δ' ἄρα νειόθι θυμὸν

Ζῆν' ὑψιβρεμέτην, ἔχόλωσε δέ μιν φίλον ἥτορ,

ώς ἵδ' ἐν ἀνθρώποισι πυρὸς τηλέσκοπον αὐγὴν.

570 αὐτίκα δ' ἀντὶ πυρὸς τεῦξεν κακὸν ἀνθρώποισι·

γαίης γὰρ σύμπλασσε περικλυτὸς Ἀμφιγυήεις

παρθένῳ αἰδοίῃ ἵκελον Κρονίδεω διὰ βουλάς·

ζῶσε δὲ καὶ κόσμησε θεὰ γλαυκῶπις Ἀθήνη

ἀργυφέη ἐσθῆτι· κατὰ κρῆθεν δὲ καλύπτρην

575 δαιδαλέην χείρεσσι κατέσχεθε, θαῦμα ἰδέσθαι·

ἀμφὶ δέ οἱ στεφάνους νεοθηλέας, ἄνθεα ποίης,

ἱμερτοὺς περίθηκε καρήσατι Παλλὰς Ἀθήνη·

ἀμφὶ δέ οἱ στεφάνην χρυσέην κεφαλῆφιν ἔθηκε,

τὴν αὐτὸς ποίησε περικλυτὸς Ἀμφιγυήεις

580 ἀσκήσας παλάμησι, χαριζόμενος Διὶ πατρί.

562 χόλου *Sac*: δόλου *cett.*

563 μελίησι *kLSΣ*: -οισι *am*

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tive craft. And ever since then the tribes of human beings upon the earth burn white bones upon smoking altars for the immortals.

(558) Greatly angered, the cloud-gatherer Zeus addressed him: "Son of Iapetus, you who know counsels beyond all others, my fine fellow, so you did not forget your deceptive craft after all!"

(561) So spoke in rage Zeus, who knows eternal counsels. And from then on, constantly mindful of his wrath after that, he did not give the strength of tireless fire to the ash trees²⁹ for the mortal human beings who live upon the earth. But the good son of Iapetus fooled him by stealing the far-seen gleam of tireless fire in a hollow fennel stalk. It gnawed deeply at high-thundering Zeus' spirit and enraged his dear heart, when he saw the far-seen gleam of fire among human beings. Immediately he contrived an evil for human beings in exchange for fire. For the much-renowned Lame One³⁰ forged from earth the semblance of a reverend maiden by the plans of Cronus' son; and the goddess, bright-eyed Athena, girdled and adorned her with silvery clothing, and with her hands she hung a highly wrought veil from her head, a wonder to see; and around her head Pallas Athena placed freshly budding garlands that arouse desire, the flowers of the meadow; and around her head she placed a golden headband, which the much-renowned Lame One made himself, working it with his skilled hands, to do a favor for Zeus the father. On this

²⁹ See note on *Theogony* 187.

³⁰ Hephaestus.

573-84 exp. Seleucus

576-77 damn. Wolf

τῇ δ' ἔνι δαιδαλα πολλὰ τετεύχατο, θαῦμα ἵδεσθαι,
κνώδαλ' ὅσ' ἥπειρος δεινὰ τρέφει ἡδὲ θάλασσα·
τῶν δ' γε πόλλ' ἐνέθηκε, χάρις δ' ἐπὶ πᾶσιν ἄητο,
θαυμάσια, ζωοῖσιν ἐοικότα φωνήεσσιν.

585 αὐτὰρ ἐπεὶ δὴ τεῦξε καλὸν κακὸν ἀντ' ἀγαθοῦ,
ἐξάγαγ' ἔνθά περ ἄλλοι ἔσαν θεοὶ ἡδὲ ἀνθρωποι,
κόσμῳ ἀγαλλομένην γλαυκώπιδος Ὁβριμοπάτρης·
θαῦμα δ' ἔχ' ἀθανάτους τε θεοὺς θνητούς τ'
ἀνθρώπους,

ώς εἶδον δόλον αἰπύν, ἀμήχανον ἀνθρώποισιν.

590 ἐκ τῆς γὰρ γένος ἐστὶ γυναικῶν θηλυτεράων,
τῆς γὰρ ὄλοιύον ἐστι γένος καὶ φῦλα γυναικῶν,
πῆμα μέγα θνητοῖσι, μετ' ἀνδράσι ναιετάουσαι,
οὐλομένης πενίης οὐ σύμφοροι, ἀλλὰ κόροιο.
ώς δ' ὅπότ' ἐν σμήνεσσι κατηρεφέεσσι μέλισσαι
595 κηφῆνας βόσκωσι, κακῶν ξυνήονας ἔργων·
αἱ μέν τε πρόπαν ἥμαρ ἐς ἡλιον καταδύντα
ἥματιαι σπεύδουσι τιθεῖσί τε κηρία λευκά,
οἱ δ' ἔντοσθε μένοντες ἐπηρεφέας κατὰ σίμβλους
ἀλλότριον κάματον σφετέρην ἐς γαστέρ' ἀμῶνται·
600 ὡς δ' αὔτως ἀνδρεσσι κακὸν θνητοῖσι γυναικας
Ζεὺς ὑψιβρεμέτης θῆκε, ξυνήονας ἔργων
ἀργαλέων. ἔτερον δὲ πόρεν κακὸν ἀντ' ἀγαθοῦ,
ὅς κε γάμον φεύγων καὶ μέρμερα ἔργα γυναικῶν
μὴ γῆμαι ἐθέλη, ὄλοὸν δ' ἐπὶ γῆρας ἵκηται

582 δεινα Π¹³: πολλὰ ak Etym. 590 damn. Heyne
591 om. Par. 2833, damn. Schoemann

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were contrived many designs, highly wrought, a wonder to see, all the terrible monsters the land and the sea nourish; he put many of these into it, wondrous, similar to living animals endowed with speech, and gracefulness breathed upon them all.

(585) Then, when he had contrived this beautiful evil thing in exchange for that good one,³¹ he led her out to where the other gods and the human beings were, while she exulted in the adornment of the mighty father's bright-eyed daughter³²; and wonder gripped the immortal gods and the mortal human beings when they saw the steep deception, intractable for human beings. For from her comes the race of female women: for of her is the deadly race and tribe of women,³³ a great woe for mortals, dwelling with men, no companions of baneful poverty but only of luxury. As when bees in vaulted beehives nourish the drones, partners in evil works—all day long until the sun goes down, every day, the bees hasten and set up the white honeycombs, while the drones remain inside among the vaulted beehives and gather into their own stomachs the labor of others—in just the same way high-thundering Zeus set up women as an evil for mortal men, as partners in distressful works. And he bestowed another evil thing in exchange for that good one: whoever flees marriage and the dire works of women and chooses not to marry arrives at deadly old

³¹ Fire.

³² Athena.

³³ Many editors consider the two preceding lines to be alternative versions of one another, and reject one or the other.

592 *μετ'* codd.: *σὺν* Stobaeus

597 *ἡμάτιον* b: *ἀκάματοι* Hermann (-αι Goettling)

605 χήτει γηροκόμοιο· ὁ δὲ οὐ βιότου γ' ἐπιδευὴς
 ζώει, ἀποφθιμένου δὲ διὰ ζωὴν δατέονται
 χηρωσταί. ὃ δὲ αὐτε γάμου μετὰ μοῖρα γένηται,
 κεδνὴν δὲ ἔσχεν ἄκοιτιν, ἀρηρυῖαν πραπίδεσσι,
 τῷ δέ τ' ἀπ' αἰῶνος κακὸν ἐσθλῷ ἀντιφερίζει
 610 ἐμμενές· ὃς δέ κε τέτμη ἀταρτηροῦ γενέθλης,
 ζώει ἐνὶ στήθεσσιν ἔχων ἀλίαστον ἀνίην
 θυμῷ καὶ κραδίη, καὶ ἀνήκεστον κακόν ἐστιν.
 ὃς οὐκ ἔστι Διὸς κλέψαι νόον οὐδὲ παρελθεῖν.
 οὐδὲ γὰρ Ἰαπετιονίδης ἀκάκητα Προμηθεὺς
 615 τοῦ γ' ὑπεξήλυξε βαρὺν χόλον, ἀλλ' ὑπ' ἀνάγκης
 καὶ πολύιδριν ἔόντα μέγας κατὰ δεσμὸς ἐρύκει.

’Οβριάρεω δὲ ὡς πρῶτα πατὴρ ὠδύσσατο θυμῷ
 Κόττῳ τ' ἡδὲ Γύγη, δῆσε κρατερῷ ἐνὶ δεσμῷ,
 ἥνορέην ὑπέροπλον ἀγώμενος ἡδὲ καὶ εἶδος
 620 καὶ μέγεθος· κατένασσε δὲ ὑπὸ χθονὸς εὐρυοδείης.
 ἔνθ' οἵ γ' ἄλγε ἔχοντες ὑπὸ χθονὶ ναιετάοντες
 εἴατ' ἐπ' ἔσχατιῇ μεγάλης ἐν πείρασι γαίης
 δηθὰ μάλ' ἀχνύμενοι, κραδίη μέγα πένθος ἔχοντες.
 ἀλλά σφεας Κρονίδης τε καὶ ἀθάνατοι θεοὶ ἄλλοι
 625 οὖς τέκεν ἡύκομος Ῥείη Κρόνου ἐν φιλότητι
 Γαίης φραδμοσύνησιν ἀνήγαγον ἐς φάος αὐτις·
 αὐτὴ γάρ σφιν ἄπαντα διηνεκέως κατέλεξε,
 σὺν κείνοις νίκην τε καὶ ἀγλαὸν εὐχος ἀρέσθαι.

606 ζωὴν Π¹⁴ k Stobaeus: κτῆσιν abS
 610 ἐμμεναι codd., Σ: corr. Wopkens

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age deprived of assistance; while he lives he does not lack the means of sustenance, but when he has died his distant relatives divide up his substance. On the other hand, that man to whom the portion of marriage falls as a share, and who acquires a cherished wife, well-fitted in her thoughts, for him evil is balanced continually with good during his whole life. But he who obtains the baneful species lives with incessant woe in his breast, in his spirit and heart, and his evil is incurable.

(613) Thus it is not possible to deceive or elude the mind of Zeus. For not even Iapetus' son, guileful³⁴ Prometheus, escaped his heavy wrath, but by necessity a great bond holds him down, shrewd though he be.

(617) When first their father³⁵ became angry in his spirit with Obriareus³⁶ and Cottus and Gyges, he bound them with a mighty bond, for he was indignant at their defiant manhood and their form and size; and he settled them under the broad-pathed earth. Dwelling there, under the earth, in pain, they sat at the edge, at the limits of the great earth, suffering greatly for a long time, with much grief in their hearts. But Cronus' son and the other immortal gods whom beautiful-haired Rhea bore in love with Cronus brought them back up to the light once again, by the prophecies of Earth: for she told the gods everything from beginning to end, that it was together with these that they would carry off victory and their splendid

³⁴ The meaning of this epithet, which is also applied to Hermes, is obscure.

³⁵ Sky.

³⁶ An alternative form for the name Briareus.

δηρὸν γὰρ μάρναντο πόνον θυμαλγέ' ἔχοντες
 631 ἀντίον ἀλλήλοισι διὰ κρατερὰς ὑσμίνας
 630 Τιτῆνές τε θεοὶ καὶ ὅσοι Κρόνου ἐξεγένοντο,
 632 οἱ μὲν ἀφ' ὑψηλῆς "Οθρυος Τιτῆνες ἀγανοί,
 οἱ δὲ ἔπειτα ὀπίστημα τοῦ θεοῦ δωτῆρες ἔάων
 οὓς τέκεν ἡύκομος 'Ρείη Κρόνως εὐνηθεῖσα.
 635 οἵ δέ τότε ἀλλήλοισιν ἄχη θυμαλγέ' ἔχοντες
 συνεχέως ἐμάχοντο δέκα πλείους ἐνιαυτούς·
 οὐδέ τις ἦν ἔριδος χαλεπῆς λύσις οὐδὲ τελευτὴ
 οὐδετέροις, ἵσον δὲ τέλος τέτατο πτολέμοιο.
 ἀλλ' ὅτε δὴ κείνοισι παρέσχεθεν ἄρμενα πάντα,
 640 νέκταρ τ' ἀμβροσίην τε, τά περ θεοὶ αὐτοὶ ἔδουσι,
 πάντων <τέλος> ἐν στήθεσσιν ἀέξετο θυμὸς ἀγήνωρ,
 ὡς νέκταρ τ' ἐπάσαντο καὶ ἀμβροσίην ἐρατεινήν,
 δὴ τότε τοῖς μετέειπε πατὴρ ἀνδρῶν τε θεῶν τε·
 "κέκλυτέ μεν Γαῖης τε καὶ Οὐρανοῦ ἀγλαὰ τέκνα,
 645 ὅφρ' εἴπω τά με θυμὸς ἐνὶ στήθεσσι κελεύει.
 ἦδη γὰρ μάλα δηρὸν ἐναντίοι ἀλλήλοισι
 νίκης καὶ κάρτευς πέρι μαρνάμεθ' ἥματα πάντα,
 Τιτῆνές τε θεοὶ καὶ ὅσοι Κρόνου ἐκγενόμεσθα.
 ὑμεῖς δὲ μεγάλην τε βίην καὶ χεῖρας ἀπτούς
 650 φαίνετε Τιτῆνεσσιν ἐναντίον ἐν δαΐ λυγρῆ,
 μνησάμενοι φιλότητος ἐνηέος, ὅσσα παθόντες
 ἐσ φάος ἄψ ἀφίκεσθε δυσηλεγέος ὑπὸ δεσμοῦ
 ἥμετέρας διὰ βουλὰς ὑπὸ ζόφου ηερόεντος."

631, 630 hoc ordine Π⁵, inverso codd.

vaunt. For they battled for a long time, their spirits pained with toil, opposing one another in mighty combats, the Titan gods and all those who were born from Cronus—from lofty Othrys the illustrious Titans, and from Olympus the gods, the givers of good things, those whom beautiful-haired Rhea bore after she had bedded with Cronus. They battled continually with one another, their spirits pained with distress, for ten full years; nor was there any resolution for their grievous strife nor an end for either side, but the outcome of the war was evenly balanced.

(639) But when he had offered them³⁷ all things fitting, nectar and ambrosia, which the gods themselves eat, and in the breasts of them all their manly spirit was strengthened once they received nectar and lovely ambrosia, the father of men and of gods spoke among them: “Listen to me, splendid children of Earth and Sky, so that I can say what the spirit in my breast bids me. We have already been fighting every day for a very long time, facing one another for the sake of victory and supremacy, the Titan gods and all of us who were born from Cronus. So manifest your great strength and your untouchable hands, facing the Titans in baleful conflict, mindful of our kind friendship, how after so many sufferings you have come up to the light once again out from under a deadly bond, by our plans, out from under the murky gloom.”

³⁷ Obriareus, Cottus, and Gyges.

635 $\mu\alpha\lambda\chi\eta\nu$ Π⁵ au : $\mu\acute{a}\chi\eta$ ||| K: $\chi\acute{o}\lambda\omega\nu$ r: $\pi\acute{o}\nu\nu\nu$ Schoemann: -ν, $\acute{a}\chi\eta$ Wieseler

642 ante 641 habet k , damn. Guyet

647 $\kappa a[$ Π⁶: $\kappa\rho\acute{a}\tau\epsilon\omega\varsigma$ codd.: $\kappa\acute{a}\rho\tau\epsilon\upsilon\varsigma$ West

ώς φάτο· τὸν δ' αἰψ' αὐτὶς ἀμείβετο Κόττος
ἀμύμων·

655 “δαιμόνι', οὐκ ἀδάητα πιφαύσκεαι, ἀλλὰ καὶ αὐτοὶ
ἴδμεν ὅ τοι περὶ μὲν πραπίδες, περὶ δ' ἐστὶ νόημα,
ἀλκτὴρ δ' ἀθανάτοισιν ἀρῆς γένεο κρυεροῖο,
σῆσι δ' ἐπιφροσύνησιν ὑπὸ ζόφου ἡερόεντος
ἄψιφορρον ἔξαυτις ἀμειλίκτων ὑπὸ δεσμῶν
660 ἡλύθομεν, Κρόνου νὶς ἄναξ, ἀνάελπτα παθόντες.
τῷ καὶ νῦν ἀτενεῖ τε νόω καὶ πρόφρονι θυμῷ
ρήνσόμεθα κράτος ὑμὸν ἐν αἰνῇ δηιοτῆτι,
μαρνάμενοι Τιτῆσιν ἀνὰ κρατερὰς ὑσμίνας.”

ώς φάτ· ἐπήνησαν δὲ θεοὶ δωτῆρες ἐάων
665 μῦθον ἀκούσαντες· πολέμου δ' ἐλιλαίετο θυμὸς
μᾶλλον ἔτ' ἡ τὸ πάροιθε· μάχην δ' ἀμέγαρτον
ἔγειραν
πάντες, θήλειαι τε καὶ ἄρσενες, ἥματι κείνῳ,
Τιτῆνες τε θεοὶ καὶ ὅσοι Κρόνου ἔξεγένοντο,
οὓς τε Ζεὺς ἐρέβεσφιν ὑπὸ χθονὸς ἥκε φόωσδε,
670 δεινοί τε κρατεροί τε, βίην ὑπέροπλον ἔχοντες.
τῶν ἑκατὸν μὲν χεῖρες ἀπ' ὕμων ἀίσσοντο
πᾶσιν ὁμῶς, κεφαλαὶ δὲ ἑκάστῳ πεντήκοντα
ἔξ ὕμων ἐπέφυκον ἐπὶ στιβαροῦσι μέλεσσιν.
οἱ τότε Τιτῆνεσσι κατέσταθεν ἐν δαι λυγρῇ
675 πέτρας ἡλιβάτους στιβαρῆς ἐν χερσὶν ἔχοντες.
Τιτῆνες δ' ἐτέρωθεν ἐκαρτύναντο φάλαγγας
προφρονέως· χειρῶν τε βίης θ' ἄμα ἔργον ἔφαινον
ἀμφότεροι, δεινὸν δὲ περίαχε πόντος ἀπείρων,
γῆ δὲ μέγ' ἐσμαράγησεν, ἐπέστενε δ' οὐρανὸς εὐρὺς

(654) So he spoke. And at once excellent Cottus answered him in turn: "Really, Sir, it is not something unknown you are telling us. We too know ourselves that your thoughts are supreme and your mind is supreme, and that you have revealed yourself as a protector for the immortals against chilly ruin. It is by your prudent plans that we have once again come back out from under the murky gloom, from implacable bonds—something, Lord, Cronus' son, that we no longer hoped to experience. For that reason, with ardent thought and eager spirit we in turn shall now rescue your supremacy in the dread battle-strife, fighting against the Titans in mighty combats."

(664) So he spoke, and the gods, the givers of good things, praised his speech when they heard it. Their spirit craved war even more than before, and they all roused up dismal battle, the females and the males, on that day, both the Titan gods and those who were born from Cronus, and those whom Zeus sent up towards the light from Erebus, out from under the earth, terrible and mighty, with defiant strength. A hundred arms sprang forth from their shoulders, in the same way for all of them, and upon their massive limbs grew fifty heads out of each one's shoulders. They took up their positions against the Titans in baleful conflict, holding enormous boulders in their massive hands; and on the other side the Titans zealously reinforced their battle-ranks. Both sides manifested the deed of hands and of strength together. The boundless ocean echoed terribly around them, and the great earth crashed, and the broad sky groaned in response as it was shaken,

661] *φρονι θυμω* [Π¹³, unde *πρόφρονι θ.* West: *ἐπίφρονι βονλῆ* codd.

680 σειόμενος, πεδόθεν δὲ τινάσσετο μακρὸς Ὄλυμπος
 ῥιπῆς ὑπ' ἀθανάτων, ἔνοσις δὲ ἵκανε βαρεῖα
 τάρταρον ἡερόεντα ποδῶν αἰπεῖα τ' ἵωὴ
 ἀσπέτου ἵωχμοῖο βολάων τε κρατεράων.
 ὡς ἄρ' ἐπ' ἀλλήλοις Ἱεσαν βέλεα στονόεντα·

685 φωνὴ δὲ ἀμφοτέρων ἵκετ' οὐρανὸν ἀστερόεντα
 κεκλομένων· οἱ δὲ ξύνισαν μεγάλῳ ἀλαλητῷ.
 οὐδὲ ἄρ' ἔτι Ζεὺς ἵσχεν ἐδὲν μένος, ἀλλά νυ τοῦ γε
 εἰθαρ μὲν μένεος πλῆντο φρένες, ἐκ δέ τε πᾶσαν
 φαῖνε βίην· ἄμυδις δὲ ἄρ' ἀπ' οὐρανοῦ ἥδ' ἀπ'
 Ὄλυμπου

690 ἀστράπτων ἔστειχε συνωχαδόν, οἱ δὲ κεραυνοὶ
 ἵκταρ ἄμα βροντῆς τε καὶ ἀστεροπῆς ποτέοντο
 χειρὸς ἄπο στιβαρῆς, ἵερὴν φλόγα εἰλυφόωντες,
 ταρφέες· ἀμφὶ δὲ γαῖα φερέσβιος ἐσμαράγιζε
 καιομένη, λάκε δὲ ἀμφὶ περὶ μεγάλῃ ἀσπετος ὕλῃ·
 695 ἔζεε δὲ χθῶν πᾶσα καὶ Ὄκεανοῖο ρέεθρα
 πόντος τ' ἀτρύγετος· τοὺς δὲ ἀμφεπε θερμὸς ἀντμὴ
 Τιτῆνας χθονίους, φλὸξ δὲ αἰθέρα δῖαν ἵκανεν
 ἀσπετος, ὅστε δὲ ἀμερδε καὶ ἴφθιμων περ ἐόντων
 αὐγὴ μαρμαίρουσα κεραυνοῦ τε στεροπῆς τε.

700 καῦμα δὲ θεσπέσιον κάτεχεν Χάος· εἴσατο δὲ ἄντα
 ὄφθαλμοῖσιν ἰδεῖν ἥδ' οὐασιν ὅσταν ἀκοῦσαι
 αὔτως, ὡς ὅτε Γαῖα καὶ Οὐρανὸς εὐρὺς ὑπερθε
 πίλνατο· τοῖος γάρ κε μέγας ὑπὸ δοῦπος ὄρώρει,

694 περὶ West: πυρὶ Π²⁹ codd.

697 αἰθέρα Naber: ἡέρα codd. Σ

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and high Olympus trembled from its very bottom under the rush of the immortals, and a deep shuddering from their feet reached murky Tartarus, and the shrill sound of the immense charge and of the mighty casts. And in this way they hurled their painful shafts against one another; and the noise of both sides reached the starry sky as they shouted encouragement, and they ran towards one another with a great war-cry.

(687) Then Zeus no longer held back his strength, but at once his breast was filled with strength and he manifested his full force. He strode at the same time from the sky and from Olympus, relentlessly hurling lightning bolts, and the thunderbolts, driving forward a sacred flame, flew densely packed, together with the thunder and lightning, all at once from his massive hand. All around, the life-giving earth roared as it burned, and all around the great immense forest crackled; the whole earth boiled, and the streams of Ocean and the barren sea. The hot blast encompassed the earthly Titans, and an immense blaze reached the divine aether, and the brilliant gleam of the lightning bolt and flash blinded their eyes, powerful though they were. A prodigious conflagration took possession of Chasm; and to look upon it with eyes and to hear its sound with ears, it seemed just as when Earth and broad Sky approached from above:³⁸ for this was the kind of great sound

³⁸ Despite some uncertainty about the Greek text, the meaning is clear: the analogy is not to some cataclysmic final collapse of the sky onto the earth, but instead to the primordial sexual union between Sky and Earth.

τῆς μὲν ἐρειπομένης, τοῦ δὲ ὑψόθεν ἐξεριπόντος·
 705 τόσσος δοῦπος ἔγεντο θεῶν ἔριδι ξυνιόντων.
 σὺν δὲ ἄνεμοι ἔνοσίν τε κονίην τ' ἐσφαράγιζον
 βροντήν τε στεροπήν τε καὶ αἰθαλόεντα κεραυνόν,
 κῆλα Διὸς μεγάλοιο, φέρον δὲ ιαχήν τ' ἐνοπήν τε
 ἐς μέσον ἀμφοτέρων· ὅτοβος δὲ ἄπλητος ὁρώρει
 710 σμερδαλέης ἔριδος, κάρτευς δὲ ἀνεφαίνετο ἔργον.

ἐκλίνθη δὲ μάχη· πρὶν δὲ ἀλλήλοις ἐπέχοντες
 ἐμμενέως ἐμάχοντο διὰ κρατερὰς ὑσμίνας.
 οἱ δὲ ἄρ' ἐνὶ πρώτοισι μάχην δριμεῖαν ἔγειραν,
 Κόττος τε Βριάρεώς τε Γύγης τ' ἄστος πολέμοιο·
 715 οἵ δὲ τριηκοσίας πέτρας στιβαρέων ἀπὸ χειρῶν
 πέμπον ἐπασπυτέρας, κατὰ δὲ ἐσκίασαν βελέεσσι
 Τιτῆνας· καὶ τοὺς μὲν ὑπὸ χθονὸς εὐρυοδείης
 πέμψαν καὶ δεσμοῖσιν ἐν ἀργαλέοισιν ἔδησαν,
 νικήσαντες χερσὶν ὑπερθύμους περ ἔόντας,
 720 τόσσον ἔνερθ' ὑπὸ γῆς ὅσον οὐρανός ἐστ' ἀπὸ γαίης.

τόσσον γάρ τ' ἀπὸ γῆς ἐς τάρταρον ἡερόεντα.
 ἐννέα γὰρ νύκτας τε καὶ ἥματα χάλκεος ἄκμων
 οὐρανόθεν κατιών, δεκάτη κ' ἐς γαῖαν ἵκοιτο·
 723a [ἴσον δὲ αὐτὸν ἀπὸ γῆς ἐς τάρταρον ἡερόεντα·]
 ἐννέα δὲ αὖ νύκτας τε καὶ ἥματα χάλκεος ἄκμων
 725 ἐκ γαίης κατιών, δεκάτη κ' ἐς τάρταρον ἵκοι.

710 κάρτευς . . . ἔργον West: κάρτος . . . ἔργων Π¹⁹, codd.

720–819 interpolatoribus pluribus trib. L. Dindorf, Hermann, alii

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that would rise up as she was pressed down and as he pressed her down from on high—so great a sound was produced as the gods ran together in strife. At the same time, the winds noisily stirred up shuddering and dust and thunder and lightning and the blazing thunderbolt, the shafts of great Zeus, and they brought shouting and screaming into the middle between both sides. A dreadful din of terrifying strife rose up, and the deed of supremacy was made manifest.

(711) And the battle inclined to one side. For earlier, advancing against one another they had battled incessantly in mighty combats. But then among the foremost Cottus and Briareus and Gyges, insatiable of war, roused up bitter battle; and they hurled three hundred boulders from their massive hands one after another and overshadowed the Titans with their missiles. They sent them down under the broad-patched earth and bound them in distressful bonds after they had gained victory over them with their hands, high-spirited though they were, as far down beneath the earth as the sky is above the earth.

(721) For it is just as far from the earth to murky Tartarus: for a bronze anvil, falling down from the sky for nine nights and days, on the tenth day would arrive at the earth; [and in turn it is the same distance from the earth to murky Tartarus;]³⁹ and again, a bronze anvil, falling down from the earth for nine nights and days, on the tenth would

³⁹ This line is rejected as an interpolation by many editors.

723a om. (sed verbis suis reddit) *Isagoge in Aratum*

τὸν πέρι χάλκεον ἔρκος ἐλήλαται· ἀμφὶ δέ μιν νὺξ
τριστοιχὶ κέχυται περὶ δειρήν· αὐτὰρ ὑπερθε
γῆς ρίζαι πεφύασι καὶ ἀτρυγέτοιο θαλάσσης.

ἔνθα θεοὶ Τιτῆνες ὑπὸ ζόφω ἡερόεντι

730 κεκρύφαται βουλῆσι Διὸς νεφεληγερέταο,
χώρῳ ἐν εὐρώεντι, πελώρης ἔσχατα γαίης.
τοῖς οὐκ ἔξιτόν ἔστι, θύρας δ' ἐπέθηκε Ποσειδέων
χαλκείας, τεῖχος δ' ἐπελήλαται ἀμφοτέρωθεν.

ἔνθα Γύγης Κόττος τε καὶ Ὁβριάρεως
μεγάθυμος

735 ναίουσιν, φύλακες πιστοὶ Διὸς αἰγιόχοιο.

ἔνθα δὲ γῆς δνοφερῆς καὶ Ταρτάρου ἡερόεντος
πόντου τ' ἀτρυγέτοιο καὶ οὐρανοῦ ἀστερόεντος
ἔξείης πάντων πηγαὶ καὶ πείρατ' ἔστιν,
ἀργαλέ̄ εὐρώεντα, τά τε στυγέουσι θεοί περ·

740 χάσμα μέγ', οὐδέ κε πάντα τελεσφόρον εἰς ἐνιαυτὸν
οῦδας ἵκοιτ', εἰ πρῶτα πυλέων ἔντοσθε γένοιτο,
ἀλλά κεν ἔνθα καὶ ἔνθα φέροι πρὸ θύελλα θυέλλης
ἀργαλέη· δεινὸν δὲ καὶ ἀθανάτοισι θεοῖσι
τοῦτο τέρας· καὶ Νυκτὸς ἐρεμνῆς οἰκία δεινὰ
745 ἔστηκεν νεφέλης κεκαλυμμένα κυανέησι.

τῶν πρόσθ' Ἰαπετοῦ πάις ἔχει οὐρανὸν εὐρὺν
ἔστηώς κεφαλῆ τε καὶ ἀκαμάτησι χέρεσσιν
ἀστεμφέως, ὅθι Νύξ τε καὶ Ἡμέρη ἀσσον ἴονσαι
ἀλλήλας προσέειπον ἀμειβόμεναι μέγαν οὐδὸν
750 χάλκεον· ἡ μὲν ἔσω καταβήσεται, ἡ δὲ θύραζε

731 ἔσχατα Π¹⁹Π³⁰ a: κεύθεσι k

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arrive at Tartarus. Around this a bronze barricade is extended, and on both sides of it night is poured out three-fold around its neck; and above it grow the roots of the earth and of the barren sea.

(729) That is where the Titan gods are hidden under murky gloom by the plans of the cloud-gatherer Zeus, in a dank place, at the farthest part of huge earth. They cannot get out, for Poseidon has set bronze gates upon it, and a wall is extended on both sides.

(734) That is where Gyges, Cottus, and great-spirited Obriareus dwell, the trusted guards of aegis-holding Zeus.

(736) That is where the sources and limits of the dark earth are, and of murky Tartarus, of the barren sea, and of the starry sky, of everything, one after another, distressful, dank, things which even the gods hate: a great chasm, whose bottom one would not reach in a whole long year, once one was inside the gates, but one would be borne hither and thither by one distressful blast after another—it is terrible for the immortal gods as well, this monstrosity; and the terrible houses of dark Night stand here, shrouded in black clouds.

(746) In front of these, Iapetus' son⁴⁰ holds the broad sky with his head and tireless hands, standing immovable, where Night and Day passing near greet one another as they cross the great bronze threshold. The one is about to go in and the other is going out the door, and never does

⁴⁰ Atlas.

734—45 secl. West

742 θυέλλης Wakefield: θυέλλη ^{Πι²⁸} codd.

τὸν πέρι χάλκεον ἔρκος ἐλήλαται· ἀμφὶ δέ μιν νὺξ
τριστοιχὶ κέχυται περὶ δειρήν· αὐτὰρ ὑπερθε
γῆς ρίζαι πεφύασι καὶ ἀτρυγέτοιο θαλάσσης.

ἔνθα θεοὶ Τιτῆνες ὑπὸ ζόφῳ ἡερόεντι

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χαλκείας, τεῖχος δ' ἐπελήλαται ἀμφοτέρωθεν.

ἔνθα Γύγης Κόττος τε καὶ Ὄβριάρεως
μεγάθυμος

735 ναίουσιν, φύλακες πιστοὶ Διὸς αἰγιόχοιο.

ἔνθα δὲ γῆς δνοφερῆς καὶ Ταρτάρου ἡερόεντος
πόντου τ' ἀτρυγέτοιο καὶ οὐρανοῦ ἀστερόεντος
ἔξείης πάντων πηγαὶ καὶ πείρατ' ἔασιν,

ἀργαλέ' εὐρώεντα, τά τε στυγέουσι θεοί περ·
740 χάσμα μέγ', οὐδέ κε πάντα τελεσφόρον εἰς ἐνιαυτὸν
οὐδας ἵκοιτ', εἰ πρῶτα πυλέων ἔντοσθε γένοιτο,
ἀλλά κεν ἔνθα καὶ ἔνθα φέροι πρὸ θύελλα θυέλλης
ἀργαλέη· δεινὸν δὲ καὶ ἀθανάτοισι θεοῖσι
τοῦτο τέρας· καὶ Νυκτὸς ἐρεμνῆς οἰκία δεινὰ
745 ἔστηκεν νεφέλης κεκαλυμμένα κυανέησι.

τῶν πρόσθ' Ἰαπετοῦ πάις ἔχει οὐρανὸν εὐρὺν
ἔστηώς κεφαλῆ τε καὶ ἀκαμάτησι χέρεσσιν
ἀστεμφέως, ὅθι Νύξ τε καὶ Ἡμέρη ἀστον ἴονσαι

750 ἀλλήλας προσέειπον ἀμειβόμεναι μέγαν οὐδὸν
χάλκεον· ἡ μὲν ἔσω καταβήσεται, ἡ δὲ θύραζε

731 ἔσχατα Π¹⁹Π³⁰ a: κεύθεσι k

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arrive at Tartarus. Around this a bronze barricade is extended, and on both sides of it night is poured out three-fold around its neck; and above it grow the roots of the earth and of the barren sea.

(729) That is where the Titan gods are hidden under murky gloom by the plans of the cloud-gatherer Zeus, in a dank place, at the farthest part of huge earth. They cannot get out, for Poseidon has set bronze gates upon it, and a wall is extended on both sides.

(734) That is where Gyges, Cottus, and great-spirited Obriareus dwell, the trusted guards of aegis-holding Zeus.

(736) That is where the sources and limits of the dark earth are, and of murky Tartarus, of the barren sea, and of the starry sky, of everything, one after another, distressful, dank, things which even the gods hate: a great chasm, whose bottom one would not reach in a whole long year, once one was inside the gates, but one would be borne hither and thither by one distressful blast after another—it is terrible for the immortal gods as well, this monstrosity; and the terrible houses of dark Night stand here, shrouded in black clouds.

(746) In front of these, Iapetus' son⁴⁰ holds the broad sky with his head and tireless hands, standing immovable, where Night and Day passing near greet one another as they cross the great bronze threshold. The one is about to go in and the other is going out the door, and never does

⁴⁰ Atlas.

734–45 secl. West

742 θνέλλης Wakefield: θνέλλη Π²⁸ codd.

πρεσβυτάτη· νόσφιν δὲ θεῶν κλυτὰ δώματα ναίει
 μακρῆσιν πέτρησι κατηρεφέ· ἀμφὶ δὲ πάντῃ
 κίοσιν ἀργυρέοισι πρὸς οὐρανὸν ἐστήρικται.

780 παῦρα δὲ Θαύμαντος θυγάτηρ πόδας ὡκέα ³Ιρις
 ἀγγελίη πωλεῖται ἐπ' εὐρέα νῶτα θαλάσσης.
 ὅππότ' ἔρις καὶ νεῦκος ἐν ἀθανάτοισιν ὅρηται,
 καί ῥ' ὅστις ψεύδηται Ὁλύμπια δώματ' ἔχόντων,
 Ζεὺς δέ τε ³Ιριν ἔπειμψε θεῶν μέγαν ὅρκον ἐνεῖκαι

785 τηλόθεν ἐν χρυσέῃ προχόῳ πολυώνυμον ὕδωρ,
 ψυχρόν, ὃ τ' ἐκ πέτρης καταλείβεται ἡλιβάτοιο
 ὑψηλῆς· πολλὸν δὲ ὑπὸ χθονὸς εὐρυοδείης
 ἐξ Ἱεροῦ ποταμοῦ ῥέει διὰ νύκτα μέλαιναν·
 Ὁκεανοῦ κέρας, δεκάτη δ' ἐπὶ μοῖρα δέδασται·

790 ἐννέα μὲν περὶ γῆν τε καὶ εὐρέα νῶτα θαλάσσης
 δίνης ἀργυρέης εἰλιγμένος εἰς ἄλα πίπτει,
 ἡ δὲ μί' ἐκ πέτρης προρέει, μέγα πῆμα θεοῖσιν.
 ὃς κεν τὴν ἐπίορκον ἀπολλεύψας ἐπομόσσῃ
 ἀθανάτων οἱ ἔχουσι κάρη νιφόεντος Ὁλύμπου,

795 κεῖται νήτμος τετελεσμένον εἰς ἐνιαυτόν·
 οὐδέ ποτ' ἀμβροσίης καὶ νέκταρος ἔρχεται ἀστον
 βρώσιος, ἄλλα τε κεῖται ἀνάπνευστος καὶ ἄναυδος
 στρωτοῖς ἐν λεχέεσσι, κακὸν δ' ἐπὶ κῶμα καλύπτει.
 αὐτὰρ ἐπὴν νοῦσον τελέσει μέγαν εἰς ἐνιαυτόν,

800 ἄλλος δ' ἐξ ἄλλου δέχεται χαλεπώτερος ἀθλος·
 εἰνάετες δὲ θεῶν ἀπαμείρεται αἰὲν ἔόντων,
 οὐδέ ποτ' ἐσ βουλὴν ἐπιμίσγεται οὐδ' ἐπὶ δαῖτας
 ἐννέα πάντ' ἔτεα· δεκάτῳ δ' ἐπιμίσγεται αὗτις

ter of backward-flowing Ocean. She lives apart from the gods in a famous mansion vaulted with great crags; it is set fast upon silver pillars on every side reaching towards the sky all around. Seldom does Thaumas' daughter, swift-footed Iris, travel to her with a message upon the broad back of the sea: whenever strife and quarrel arise among the immortals and one of those who have their mansions on Olympus tells a lie, Zeus sends Iris to bring from afar in a golden jug the great oath of the gods, the much-renowned water, icy, which pours down from a great, lofty crag. It flows abundantly from under the broad-pathed earth, from the holy river through the black night—a branch of Ocean, and a tenth portion has been assigned to her. For nine-fold around the earth and the broad back of the sea he whirls in silver eddies and falls into the sea, and she as one portion flows forth from the crag, a great woe for the gods. For whoever of the immortals, who possess the peak of snowy Olympus, swears a false oath after having poured a libation from her, he lies breathless for one full year; and he does not go near to ambrosia and nectar for nourishment, but lies there without breath and without voice on a covered bed, and an evil stupor shrouds him. And when he has completed this sickness for a long year, another, even worse trial follows upon this one: for nine years he is cut off from participation with the gods that always are, nor does he mingle with them in their assembly or their feasts for all of nine years; but in the tenth he minglest once again in the meetings of the immortals who have

781 ἀγγελίη Guyet: -ίη Π5?a Δ: ἀγγελίην Scorial. Φ III 16: -ίης U² Vat. 2185m²: -ίης Stephanus

εῖρας ἐσ ἀθανάτων οἱ Ὀλύμπια δώματ' ἔχουσι.

805 τοῖον ἄρ' ὄρκον ἔθεντο θεοὶ Στυγὸς ἀφθιτον ὕδωρ,
ἀγύγιον· τὸ δ' ἵησι καταστυφέλον διὰ χώρου.

ἔνθα δὲ γῆς δνοφερῆς καὶ ταρτάρου ἡερόεντος
πόντου τ' ἀτρυγέτοιο καὶ οὐρανοῦ ἀστερόεντος
ἔξείης πάντων πηγαὶ καὶ πείρατ' ἔασιν,

810 ἀργαλέ' εὐρώεντα, τά τε στυγέοντι θεοί περ.

ἔνθα δὲ μαρμάρεαι τε πύλαι καὶ χάλκεος οὐδός,
ἀστεμφὲς ρίζησι διηνεκέεσσιν ἀρηρώς,
αὐτοφυής· πρόσθεν δὲ θεῶν ἔκτοσθεν ἀπάντων
Τιτῆνες ναίοντι, πέρην χάεος ζοφεροῖο.

815 αὐτὰρ ἐρισμαράγοιο Διὸς κλειτοὶ ἐπίκουροι
δώματα ναιετάουσιν ἐπ' Ὄκεανοῦ θεμέθλοις,
Κόττος τ' ἡδὲ Γύγης· Βριάρεών γε μὲν ἡὺν ἔόντα
γαμβρὸν ἔδν ποίησε βαρύκτυπος Ἐννοσίγαιος,
δῶκε δὲ Κυμοπόλειαν ὀπύιειν, θυγατέρα ἦν.

820 αὐτὰρ ἐπεὶ Τιτῆνας ἀπ' οὐρανοῦ ἔξέλασε Ζεύς,
διπλότατον τέκε παῖδα Τυφωέα Γαῖα πελώρη
Ταρτάρου ἐν φιλότητι διὰ χρυσῆν Ἀφροδίτην·
οὐ χεῖρες τμὲν ἔασιν ἐπ' ἵσχύι ἔργυματ' ἔχουσαι,†
καὶ πόδες ἀκάματοι κρατεροῦ θεοῦ· ἐκ δέ οἱ ὕμων
825 ἦν ἑκατὸν κεφαλαὶ ὄφιος δεινοῦ δράκοντος,
γλώσσησι δνοφερῆσι λελιχμότες· ἐκ δέ οἱ ὄσσων
θεσπεσίης κεφαλῆσιν ὑπ' ὄφρύσι πῦρ ἀμάρυσσεν·
πασέων δ' ἐκ κεφαλέων πῦρ καίετο δερκομένοιο·

804 εῖρας ἐσ Hermann: εἰρέας codd.: εῖραις Ruhnken

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their mansions on Olympus. It is as this sort of oath that the gods have established the eternal water of Styx, primeval; and it pours out through a rugged place.

(807) That is where the sources and limits of the dark earth are, and of murky Tartarus, of the barren sea, and of the starry sky, of everything, one after another, distressful, dank, things which even the gods hate.

(811) That is where the marble gates are and the bronze threshold, fitted together immovably upon continuous roots, self-generated; and in front, apart from all the gods, live the Titans, on the far side of the gloomy chasm. The celebrated helpers of loud-thundering Zeus live in mansions upon the foundations of Ocean, Cottus and Gyges; but the deep-sounding Earth-shaker made Briareus, since he was good, his son-in-law, and he gave him Cymopolea, his daughter, to wed.

(820) When Zeus had driven the Titans from the sky, huge Earth bore as her youngest son Typhoeus, in love with Tartarus, because of golden Aphrodite. His hands †are holding deeds upon strength,^{†42} and tireless the strong god's feet; and from his shoulders there were a hundred heads of a snake, a terrible dragon's, licking with their dark tongues; and on his prodigious heads fire sparkled from his eyes under the eyebrows, and from all of his heads

⁴² Line 823 seems to be corrupt; no convincing defense or remedy for it has yet been found.

826 ἐκ δέ οἱ ὄστρων fere codd.: ἐν δέ οἱ ὄστρε West

828 damn. Ruhnken

φωναὶ δὲ ἐν πάσησιν ἔσται δεινῆς κεφαλῆσι,
 830 παντοίην ὅπ' ἴεῖσαι ἀθέσφατον· ἄλλοτε μὲν γὰρ
 φθέγγονθ' ὡς τε θεοῖσι συνιέμεν, ἄλλοτε δὲ αὐτε
 ταύρουν ἐριβρύχεω μένος ἀσχέτου ὄσσαν ἀγαύρου,
 ἄλλοτε δὲ αὐτε λέοντος ἀναιδέα θυμὸν ἔχοντος,
 ἄλλοτε δὲ αὖ σκυλάκεσσιν ἐοικότα, θαύματ' ἀκοῦσαι,
 835 ἄλλοτε δὲ αὖ ροίζεσχ', ὑπὸ δὲ ἥχεεν οὔρεα μακρά.
 καί νύ κεν ἐπλετο ἔργον ἀμήχανον ἥματι κείνω,
 καί κεν ὅ γε θυητοῖσι καὶ ἀθανάτοισιν ἄναξεν,
 εἰ μὴ ἄρ' ὁξὺ νόησε πατὴρ ἀνδρῶν τε θεῶν τε·
 σκληρὸν δὲ ἐβρόντησε καὶ ὅβριμον, ἀμφὶ δὲ γαῖα
 840 σμερδαλέον κονάβησε καὶ οὐρανὸς εὐρὺς ὑπερθε
 πόντός τ' Ὁκεανοῦ τε ροαὶ καὶ Τάρταρα γαίης.
 ποσσὶ δὲ ὑπὸ ἀθανάτοισι μέγας πελεμίζετ' Ὁλυμπος
 ὁρυμένοιο ἄνακτος· ἐπεστονάχιζε δὲ γαῖα.
 καῦμα δὲ ὑπὸ ἀμφοτέρων κάτεχεν ἰοειδέα πόντον
 845 βροντῆς τε στεροπῆς τε πυρός τ' ἀπὸ τοῦ πελώρου
 πρηστήρων ἀνέμων τε κεραυνοῦ τε φλεγέθοντος·
 ἔζεε δὲ χθὼν πᾶσα καὶ οὐρανὸς ἥδε θάλασσα·
 θυῖε δὲ ἄρ' ἀμφὶ ἀκτὰς περὶ τὸ ἀμφί τε κύματα μακρὰ
 ριπῆ ὑπὸ ἀθανάτων, ἔνοσις δὲ ἀσβεστος ὁρώρει·
 850 τρέε δὲ Ἀίδης ἐνέροισι καταφθιμένοισιν ἀνάσσων
 Τιτῆνές θ' ὑποταρτάριοι Κρόνον ἀμφὶς ἔόντες
 ἀσβέστου κελάδοιο καὶ αἰνῆς δηιοτῆτος.
 Ζεὺς δὲ ἐπεὶ οὖν κόρθυνεν ἐὸν μένος, εἶλετο δὲ
 ὅπλα,

832 ἀσχέτον codd.: corr. Winterton

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fire burned as he glared. And there were voices in all his terrible heads, sending forth all kinds of sounds, inconceivable: for sometimes they would utter sounds as though for the gods to understand, and at other times the sound of a loud-bellowing, majestic bull, unstoppable in its strength, at other times that of a lion, with a ruthless spirit, at other times like young dogs, a wonder to hear, and at other times he hissed, and the high mountains echoed from below. And on that very day an intractable deed would have been accomplished, and he would have ruled over mortals and immortals, if the father of men and of gods had not taken sharp notice: he thundered hard and strong, and all around the earth echoed terrifyingly, and the broad sky above, and the sea, and the streams of Ocean, and Tartarus in the earth. As the lord rushed forward, great Olympus trembled under his immortal feet, and the earth groaned in response. The violet-dark sea was enveloped by a conflagration from both of them—of thunder and lightning, and fire from that monster of typhoons and winds, and the blazing thunder-bolt. And all the earth seethed, and the sky and sea; and long waves raged around the shores, around and about, under the rush of the immortals, and an inextinguishable shuddering arose. And Hades, who rules over the dead below, was afraid, and the Titans under Tartarus, gathered around Cronus, at the inextinguishable din and dread battle-strife.

(853) Then when Zeus had lifted up his strength and grasped his weapons, the thunder and lightning and the

846 exp. Heyne

852 damn. Hermann: habent II¹²¶¹⁵¶³¹

βροντήν τε στεροπήν τε καὶ αἰθαλόεντα κεραυνόν,
 855 πλῆξεν ἀπ' Οὐλύμποιο ἐπάλμενος· ἀμφὶ δὲ πάσας
 ἔπρεσε θεσπεσίας κεφαλὰς δεινοῖο πελώρου.
 αὐτὰρ ἐπεὶ δή μιν δάμασε πληγῆσιν ἴμασσας,
 ἥριπε γνιωθείσ, στονάχιζε δὲ γαῖα πελώρη·
 φλὸξ δὲ κεραυνωθέντος ἀπέσυντο τοῖο ἄνακτος
 860 οὔρεος ἐν βήσσησιν ἀιδνῆς παιπαλοέσσης
 πληγέντος, πολλὴ δὲ πελώρη καίετο γαῖα
 αὐτῷ θεσπεσίη, καὶ ἐτήκετο καστίτερος ὡς
 τέχνη ὑπ' αἰζηῶν ἐν ἐντρήτοις χοάνοισι
 θαλφθείσ, ἡὲ σίδηρος, ὃ περ κρατερώτατός ἐστιν,
 865 οὔρεος ἐν βήσσησι δαμαζόμενος πυρὶ κηλέω
 τήκεται ἐν χθονὶ δίη ὑφ' Ἡφαίστου παλάμησιν·
 ὡς ἄρα τήκετο γαῖα σέλαι πυρὸς αἰθομένοιο.
 ρῆψε δέ μιν θυμῷ ἀκαχῶν ἐς τάρταρον εύρύν.
 ἐκ δὲ Τυφωέος ἐστ' ἀνέμων μένος ὑγρὸν ἀέντων,
 870 νόσφι Νότου Βορέω τε καὶ ἀργεστέω Ζεφύροιο·
 οἵ γε μὲν ἐκ θεόφιν γενεήν, θυητοῖς μέγ' ὅνειρα.
 αἱ δ' ἄλλαι μὰψ αὖραι ἐπιπνείουσι θάλασσαν·
 αἱ δή τοι πίπτουσαι ἐς ἡεροειδέα πόντον,
 πῆμα μέγα θυητοῖσι, κακῇ θυίουσιν ἀέλλῃ·
 875 ἄλλοτε δ' ἄλλαι ἄεισι διασκιδνᾶσί τε νῆας
 ναύτας τε φθείρουσι· κακοῦ δ' οὐ γίνεται ἀλκὴ
 ἀνδράσιν, οἱ κείνησι συνάντωνται κατὰ πόντον.
 αἱ δ' αὖ καὶ κατὰ γαῖαν ἀπείριτον ἀνθεμόεσσαν
 ἔργ' ἐρατὰ φθείρουσι χαμαιγενέων ἀνθρώπων,
 880 πιμπλεῖσαι κόνιός τε καὶ ἀργαλέου κολοσυρτοῦ.

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blazing thunderbolt, he struck him, leaping upon him from Olympus; and all around he scorched all the prodigious heads of the terrible monster. And when he had overpowered him, scourging him with blows, he fell down lamed, and the huge earth groaned; a flame shot forth from that thunderbolted lord in the mountain's dark, rugged dales, as he was struck, and the huge earth was much burned by the prodigious blast, and it melted like tin when it is heated with skill by young men in well-perforated melting-pots, or as iron, although it is the strongest thing, melts in the divine earth by the skilled hands of Hephaestus when it is overpowered in a mountain's dales by burning fire. In the same way, the earth melted in the blaze of the burning fire. And he hurled Typhoeus into broad Tartarus, grieving him in his spirit.

(869) From Typhoeus comes the strength of moist-blowing winds—apart from Notus and Boreas and clear Zephyrus, for these are from the gods by descent, a great boon for mortals. But the other breezes blow at random upon the sea: falling upon the murky sea, a great woe for mortals, they rage with an evil blast; they blow now one way, now another, and scatter the boats, and destroy the sailors; and there is no safeguard against this evil for men who encounter them upon the sea. And on the boundless, flowering earth too, they destroy the lovely works of earth-born human beings, filling them with dust and with distressful confusion.

860 ἀϊδνῆς vel -ῆς II¹²akΣ Etym.: Ἀϊδνῆς Wilamowitz: ἀϊτνῆς anon. in ed. Iunt. exempl. Bodl.: Αϊτνῆς Tzetzes v. l., qui Aetnam utique intellexit

874 θύουσι(ν) codd.: πνείουσ[ι] II¹⁵

αὐτὰρ ἐπεί ρα πόνον μάκαρες θεοὶ ἐξετέλεσσαν,
 Τιτήνεσσι δὲ τιμάων κρίναντο βίηφι,
 δή ρα τότ’ ὕτρυνον βασιλευέμεν ἡδὲ ἀνάστειν
 Γαίης φραδμοσύνησιν Ὄλύμπιον εὐρύοπα Ζῆν
 885 ἀθανάτων ὁ δὲ τοῖσιν ἐν διεδάσσατο τιμάς.

Ζεὺς δὲ θεῶν βασιλεὺς πρώτην ἄλοχον θέτο
 Μῆτιν,

πλεῖστα θεῶν εἰδυῖαν ἵδε θυητῶν ἀνθρώπων.

ἀλλ’ ὅτε δὴ ἄρ’ ἔμελλε θεὰν γλαυκῶπιν Ἀθήνην
 τέξεσθαι, τότ’ ἐπειτα δόλῳ φρένας ἐξαπατήσας

890 αίμυλίοισι λόγοισιν ἐὴν ἐσκάτθετο νηδύν,

Γαίης φραδμοσύνησι καὶ Οὐρανοῦ ἀστερόεντος·
 τῶς γάρ οἱ φρασάτην, ἵνα μὴ βασιληίδα τιμὴν
 ἄλλος ἔχοι Διὸς ἀντὶ θεῶν αἰειγενετάων.

ἐκ γὰρ τῆς εῖμαρτο περίφρονα τέκνα γενέσθαι·

895 πρώτην μὲν κούρην γλαυκώπιδα Τριτογένειαν,

ἶστον ἔχουσαν πατρὶ μένος καὶ ἐπίφρονα βουλήν,
 αὐτὰρ ἐπειτ’ ἄρα παῖδα θεῶν βασιλῆα καὶ ἀνδρῶν
 ἔμελλεν τέξεσθαι, ὑπέρβιον ἥτορ ἔχοντα·

ἀλλ’ ἄρα μιν Ζεὺς πρόσθεν ἐὴν ἐσκάτθετο νηδύν,

900 ὡς οἱ συμφράσσαιτο θεὰ ἀγαθόν τε κακόν τε.

δεύτερον ἥγάγετο λιπαρὴν Θέμιν, ἥ τέκεν Ὄρας,
 Εὐνομίην τε Δίκην τε καὶ Εἰρήνην τεθαλυῖαν,

αἱ τ’ ἐργ’ ὡρεύουσι καταθνητοῖσι βροτοῖσι,

Μοίρας θ’, ἥς πλείστην τιμὴν πόρε μητίετα Ζεύς,

905 Κλωθώ τε Λάχεσίν τε καὶ Ἀτροπον, αἱ τε διδοῦσι
 θυητοῖς ἀνθρώποισιν ἔχειν ἀγαθόν τε κακόν τε.

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(881) When the blessed gods had completed their toil, and by force had reached a settlement with the Titans regarding honors, then by the prophecies of Earth they urged far-seeing Zeus to become king and to rule over the immortals; and he divided their honors well for them.

(886) Zeus, king of the gods, took as his first wife Metis (Wisdom), she who of the gods and mortal human beings knows the most. But when she was about to give birth to the goddess, bright-eyed Athena, he deceived her mind by craft and with guileful words he put her into his belly, by the prophecies of Earth and of starry Sky: for this was how they had prophesied to him, lest some other one of the eternally living gods hold the kingly honor instead of Zeus. For it was destined that exceedingly wise children would come to be from her: first she would give birth to a maiden, bright-eyed Tritogeneia,⁴³ possessing strength equal to her father's and wise counsel, and then to a son, a king of gods and of men, possessing a very violent heart. But before that could happen Zeus put her into his belly, so that the goddess would advise him about good and evil.

(901) Second, he married bright Themis, who gave birth to the Horae (Seasons), Eunomia (Lawfulness) and Dike (Justice) and blooming Eirene (Peace), who care for the works of mortal human beings, and the Destinies, upon whom the counsellor Zeus bestowed the greatest honor, Clotho and Lachesis and Atropos, who give to mortal human beings both good and evil to have.

⁴³ Athena.

900 οἱ συμφρ. Chrysippus: δῆ οἱ φρ. codd.

901-1022 Hesiodo abiud. West

τρεῖς δέ οἱ Εύρυνόμη Χάριτας τέκε καλλιπαρήους,
 Ὄκεανοῦ κούρη πολυήρατον εἶδος ἔχουσα,
 Ἄγλαιην τε καὶ Εύφροσύνην Θαλίην τ' ἔρατεινήν·
 910 τῶν καὶ ἀπὸ βλεφάρων ἔρος εἴβετο δερκομενάων
 λυσιμελήσ· καλὸν δέ θ' ὑπ' ὀφρύσι δερκιόωνται.

αὐτὰρ ὁ Δήμητρος πολυφόρβης ἐς λέχος ἥλθεν·
 ἡ τέκε Περσεφόνην λευκώλενον, ἦν Ἀιδωνεὺς
 ἥρπασεν ἥς παρὰ μητρός, ἔδωκε δὲ μητίετα Ζεύς.

915 Μνημοσύνης δ' ἔξαυτις ἔραστατο καλλικόμοιο,
 ἔξ ἥς οἱ Μοῦσαι χρυσάμπυκες ἔξεγένοντο
 ἐννέα, τῇσιν ἄδον θαλίαι καὶ τέρψις ἀοιδῆς.

Λητὸ δ' Ἀπόλλωνα καὶ Ἀρτεμιν ἰοχέαιραν
 ἴμερόεντα γόνον περὶ πάντων Οὐρανιώνων
 920 γείνατ' ἄρ' αἰγιόχοιο Διὸς φιλότητι μιγεῖσα.

λοισθοτάτην δ' Ἡρην θαλερὴν ποιήσατ' ἄκοιτιν·
 ἡ δ' Ἡβην καὶ Ἀρηα καὶ Εἰλείθυιαν ἔτικτε
 μιχθεῖσ' ἐν φιλότητι θεῶν βασιλῆι καὶ ἀνδρῶν.

925 αὐτὸς δ' ἐκ κεφαλῆς γλαυκώπιδα γείνατ' Ἀθήνην,
 δεινὴν ἐγρεκύδοιμον ἀγέστρατον ἀτρυτώνην,
 πότνιαν, ἥ κέλαδοί τε ἄδον πόλεμοί τε μάχαι τε·
 Ἡρη δ' Ἡφαιστον κλυτὸν οὐ φιλότητι μιγεῖσα
 γείνατο, καὶ ζαμένησε καὶ ἥρισεν φῶ παρακοίτη,
 ἐκ πάντων τέχνησι κεκασμένον Οὐρανιώνων.

930 ἐκ δ' Ἀμφιτρίτης καὶ ἔρικτύπου Ἐννοσιγαίου

908 εἶδος: ἥτορ a 924 γείνατ' Ἀ. Q Chrysippus:
 τριτογένειαν abkS 930–1022 Hesiodo abiud. Jacoby, 930–
 7, 940–62 Wilamowitz, *alios alii*

THEOGONY

(907) Eurynome, Ocean's daughter, possessing lovely beauty, bore him three beautiful-cheeked Graces, Aglaea (Splendor) and Euphrosyne (Joy) and lovely Thalia (Good Cheer). From their eyes desire, the limb-melter, trickles down when they look; and they look beautifully from under their eyebrows.

(912) Then bounteous Demeter came to his bed; she bore white-armed Persephone, whom Aïdoneus⁴⁴ snatched away from her mother—but the counsellor Zeus gave her to him.

(915) Then he desired beautiful-haired Mnemosyne, from whom the Muses with golden headbands came to be, nine of them, who delight in festivities and the pleasure of song.

(918) Leto, mingling in love with aegis-holding Zeus, gave birth to Apollo and arrow-shooting Artemis, children lovely beyond all Sky's descendants.

(921) Last of all he made Hera his vigorous wife; and she, mingling in love with the king of gods and of men, gave birth to Hebe and Ares and Eileithyia.

(924) He himself gave birth from his head to bright-eyed Athena, terrible, battle-rouser, army-leader, indefatigable, queenly, who delights in din and wars and battles; but Hera was furious and contended with her husband, and without mingling in love gave birth to famous Hephaestus, expert with his skilled hands beyond all of Sky's descendants.

(930) From Amphitrite and the loud-sounding Earth-

⁴⁴ Hades.

κούρην Ὀκεανοῦ τελήεντος ποταμοῦ
 960 γῆμε θεῶν βουλῆσιν, Ἰδυῖαν καλλιπάρηον·
 ἡ δή οἱ Μήδειαν ἐύσφυρον ἐν φιλότητι
 γείναθ' ὑποδμηθεῖσα διὰ χρυσῆν Ἀφροδίτην.

ὑμεῖς μὲν νῦν χαίρετ', Ὄλυμπια δώματ' ἔχοντες,
 νῆσοί τ' ἥπειροί τε καὶ ἀλμυρὸς ἐνδοθι πόντος·
 965 νῦν δὲ θεάων φῦλον ἀείσατε, ἡδυέπειαι
 Μοῦσαι Ὄλυμπιάδες, κοῦραι Διὸς αἰγιόχοιο,
 ὅσσαι δὴ θυητοῖσι παρ' ἀνδράσιν εὐνηθεῖσαι
 ἀθάναται γείναντο θεοῖς ἐπιείκελα τέκνα.

Δημήτηρ μὲν Πλούτον ἐγείνατο δῖα θεάων,
 970 Ἰασίω ἥρωι μιγεῖσ' ἐρατῆ φιλότητι
 νειῶ ἔνι τριπόλω, Κρήτης ἐν πίονι δήμῳ,
 ἐσθλόν, ὃς εἰσ' ἐπὶ γῆν τε καὶ εὐρέα νῶτα θαλάσσης
 πᾶσαν τῷ δὲ τυχόντι καὶ οὖν κ' ἐς χεῖρας ἵκηται,
 τὸν δὴ ἀφνειὸν ἔθηκε, πολὺν δέ οἱ ὥπασεν ὅλβον.
 975 Κάδμῳ δ' Ἀρμονίη, θυγάτηρ χρυσῆς Ἀφροδίτης,
 Ἰνώ καὶ Σεμέλην καὶ Ἀγανὴν καλλιπάρηον
 Αὔτονόην θ', ἣν γῆμεν Ἀρισταῖος βαθυχαίτης,
 γείνατο καὶ Πολύδωρον ἐνστεφάνῳ ἐνὶ Θήβῃ.

κούρη δ' Ὀκεανοῦ Χρυσάορι καρτεροθύμῳ
 980 μιχθεῖσ' ἐν φιλότητι πολυχρύσου Ἀφροδίτης
 Καλλιρόη τέκε παῖδα βροτῶν κάρτιστον ἀπάντων,
 Γηρυονέα, τὸν κτεῖνε βίη Ἡρακληίη
 βοῶν ἔνεκ' εἰλιπόδων ἀμφιρρύτῳ εἰν Ἐρυθείῃ.

Τιθωνῷ δ' Ἡὰς τέκε Μέμνονα χαλκοκορυστήν,
 985 Αἰθιόπων βασιλῆα, καὶ Ἡμαθίωνα ἄνακτα.

mortal-illumining Helius, married beautiful-cheeked Idyia, the daughter of the perfect river Ocean, by the plans of the gods; and she, overpowered in love because of golden Aphrodite, gave birth to fair-ankled Medea.

(963) Farewell now to you who dwell in Olympian mansions, and you islands and continents and the salty sea within. And now, sweet-voiced Olympian Muses, daughters of aegis-holding Zeus, sing of the tribe of goddesses, all those who bedded beside mortal men and, immortal themselves, gave birth to children equal to the gods.

(969) Demeter, divine among goddesses, gave birth to Plutus (Wealth), mingling in lovely desire with the hero Iasius in thrice-plowed fallow land in the rich land of Crete—fine Plutus, who goes upon the whole earth and the broad back of the sea, and whoever meets him and comes into his hands, that man he makes rich, and he bestows much wealth upon him.

(975) To Cadmus, Harmonia, golden Aphrodite's daughter, bore Ino and Semele and beautiful-cheeked Agave and Autonoe, whom deep-haired Aristaeus married, and Polydorus, in well-garlanded Thebes.

(979) Callirhoe, Ocean's daughter, mingling in golden Aphrodite's love with strong-spirited Chrysaor, bore a son, the strongest of all mortals, Geryoneus, whom Heracles' force killed on account of rolling-footed cattle in sea-girt Erythea.

(984) To Tithonus, Eos bore bronze-helmeted Memnon, the king of the Ethiopians, and lord Emathion. And to

961 δῆ Guyet: δέ codd.

αὐτάρ τοι Κεφάλω φιτύσατο φαίδιμον υἱόν,
 ἵφθιμον Φαέθοντα, θεοῖς ἐπιείκελον ἄνδρα·
 τόν ῥα νέον τέρεν ἄνθος ἔχοντ' ἐρικυδέος ἥβης
 παῖδ' ἀταλὰ φρονέοντα φιλομμειδὴς Ἀφροδίτη
 990 ὥρτ' ἀνερειψαμένη, καί μιν ζαθέοις ἐνὶ νηοῖς
 νηοπόλον μύχιον ποιήσατο, δαίμονα δῖον.

κούρην δ' Αἰήταο διοτρεφέος βασιλῆος
 Αἰσονίδης βουλῆσι θεῶν αἰειγενετάων
 ἥγε παρ' Αἰήτεω, τελέσας στονόεντας ἀέθλους,
 995 τοὺς πολλοὺς ἐπέτελλε μέγας βασιλεὺς ὑπερήνωρ,
 ὑβριστὴς Πελίης καὶ ἀτάσθαλος ὁβριμοεργός·
 τοὺς τελέσας ἐς Ἰωλκὸν ἀφίκετο πολλὰ μογήσας
 ὡκείης ἐπὶ νηὸς ἄγων ἐλικώπιδα κούρην
 Αἰσονίδης, καί μιν θαλερὴν ποιήσατ' ἄκοιτιν.
 1000 καί ῥ' ἥ γε δμηθεῖσ' ὑπ' Ἰήσονι ποιμένι λαῶν
 Μήδειον τέκε παῖδα, τὸν οὔρεσιν ἔτρεφε Χείρων
 Φιλλυρίδης· μεγάλου δὲ Διὸς νόος ἐξετελεῖτο.

αὐτὰρ Νηρῆος κοῦραι ἀλίοιο γέροντος,
 ἥτοι μὲν Φῶκον Ψαμάθη τέκε δῖα θεάων
 1005 Αἰακοῦ ἐν φιλότητι διὰ χρυσῆν Ἀφροδίτην·
 Πηλεῖ δὲ δμηθεῖσα θεὰ Θέτις ἀργυρόπεζα
 γείνατ' Ἀχιλλῆα ρηξήνορα θυμολέοντα.

Αἰνείαν δ' ἄρ' ἔτικτεν ἐνστέφανος Κυθέρεια,
 Ἀγχίση ἥρωι μιγεῖσ' ἐρατῇ φιλότητι
 1010 Ἰδης ἐν κορυφῇσι πολυπτύχου ἡνεμοέσσης.

986–91 Catalogo tribuit Pausanias
 991 μύχιον Aristarchus: νύχιον *ak*

Cephalus she bore a splendid son, powerful Phaethon, a man equal to the gods. While he was young, a delicate-spirited child, and still possessed the tender flower of glorious youth, smile-loving Aphrodite snatched him away, and made him her innermost temple-keeper in her holy temples, a divine spirit.

(992) By the plans of the eternally living gods, Aeson's son⁴⁵ led away from Aeetes, that Zeus-nurtured king, Aeetes' daughter,⁴⁶ after completing the many painful tasks imposed upon him by the great overweening king, arrogant and wicked, violent-working Pelias. When Aeson's son had completed these he came to Iolcus, after enduring much toil, upon a swift ship, leading Aeetes' quick-eyed daughter, and he made her his vigorous wife. After she had been overpowered by Jason, the shepherd of the people, she gave birth to a son, Medeus, whom Chiron, Philyra's son, raised upon the mountains—and great Zeus' intention was fulfilled.

(1003) As for the daughters of Nereus, the old man of the sea, Psamathe, divine among goddesses, bore Phocus in love with Aeacus because of golden Aphrodite; while Thetis, the silver-footed goddess, overpowered by Peleus, gave birth to Achilles, man-breaker, lion-spirited.

(1008) Well-garlanded Cytherea bore Aeneas, mingling in lovely desire with the hero Anchises on the peaks of many-valleyed, windy Ida.

⁴⁵ Jason.

⁴⁶ Medea.

1010 ἡνεμ. Q: ὑληέσσης abkS

Κίρκη δ' Ἡελίου θυγάτηρ 'Τπεριονίδαο
 γείνατ' Ὁδυσσῆος ταλασίφρονος ἐν φιλότητι
 "Αγριον ἥδε Λατῦνον ἀμύμονά τε κρατερόν τε·
 Τηλέγονον δὲ ἔτικτε διὰ χρυσῆν Ἀφροδίτην·
 1015 οἱ δή τοι μάλα τῆλε μυχῷ νήσων ἰεράων
 πᾶσιν Τυρσηνοῖσιν ἀγακλειτοῖσιν ἄνασσον.

Ναυσίθοον δ' Ὁδυσῆι Καλυψὼ δῖα θεάων
 γείνατο Ναυσίνοόν τε μιγεῖσ' ἐρατῆ φιλότητι.

αῦται μὲν θυητοῖσι παρ' ἀνδράσιν εύνηθεῖσαι
 1020 ἀθάναται γείναντο θεοῖς ἐπιείκελα τέκνα.
 νῦν δὲ γυναικῶν φῦλον ἀείσατε, ἥδυέπειαι
 Μοῦσαι Ὄλυμπιάδες, κοῦραι Διὸς αἰγιόχοιο.

1014 deest in *kS* sch. in *Apollonium Rhodium*, negl. *Eustathius*

1021–22 *Catalogi* initium om. *Π¹³ακ*: habet *Q*, post add. *L⁴ U²*

THEOGONY

(1011) Circe, the daughter of Hyperion's son Helius, in love with patient-minded Odysseus, gave birth to Agrius and Latinus, excellent and strong; and she bore Telegonus because of golden Aphrodite. These ruled over all the much-renowned Tyrrhenians, far away, in the innermost part of holy islands.

(1017) Calypso, divine among goddesses, bore Nausithous to Odysseus, and Nausinous, mingling in lovely desire.

(1019) These are the goddesses who bedded beside mortal men and, immortal themselves, gave birth to children equal to the gods. And now sing of the tribe of women, sweet-voiced Olympian Muses, daughters of aegis-holding Zeus.⁴⁷

⁴⁷ These two lines are also the first two lines of the *Catalogue of Women*, cf. Fr. 1.

ΕΡΓΑ ΚΑΙ ΗΜΕΡΑΙ

Μοῦσαι Πιερίηθεν, ἀοιδῆσι κλείουσαι,
δεῦτε, Διὸς ἐννέπετε σφέτερον πατέρ' ὑμνείουσαι,
οὐ τε διὰ βροτοὶ ἄνδρες ὁμῶς ἄφατοί τε φατοί τε
ρήτοί τ' ἄρρητοί τε Διὸς μεγάλοιο ἔκητι.

5 ρέα μὲν γὰρ βριάει, ρέα δὲ βριάοντα χαλέπτει,
ρέια δ' ἀρίζηλον μινύθει καὶ ἄδηλον ἀέξει,
ρέια δέ τ' ἵθυνει σκολιὸν καὶ ἀγήνορα κάρφει
Ζεὺς ὑψιβρεμέτης ὃς ὑπέρτατα δώματα ναίει.
κλῦθι ἵδων ἀιών τε, δίκη δ' ἵθυνε θέμιστας
10 τύνη· ἐγὼ δέ κε Πέρσῃ ἐτήπυμα μυθησαίμην.

οὐκ ἄρα μοῦνον ἔην Ἐρίδων γένος, ἀλλ' ἐπὶ¹
γαιῶν
εἰσὶ δύω· τὴν μέν κεν ἐπαινήσειε νοήσας,
ἡ δ' ἐπιμωμητή· διὰ δ' ἄνδιχα θυμὸν ἔχουσιν.
ἡ μὲν γὰρ πόλεμόν τε κακὸν καὶ δῆριν ὄφέλλει,

1-16 deest C, 1-42 deest ω_4 1-10 ath. Praxiphanes Aristarchus Crates, om. libri a Praxiphane Pausania visi

WORKS AND DAYS

(1) Muses, from Pieria, glorifying in songs, come here, tell in hymns of your father Zeus, through whom mortal men are unfamed and famed alike, and named and unnamed, by the will of great Zeus. For easily he strengthens, and easily he crushes the strong, easily he diminishes the conspicuous and increases the inconspicuous, and easily he straightens the crooked and withers the manly—high-thundering Zeus, who dwells in the loftiest mansions. Give ear to me, watching and listening, and straighten the verdicts with justice yourself¹; as for me, I will proclaim truths to Perses.

(11) So there was not just one birth of Strifes after all,² but upon the earth there are two Strifes. One of these a man would praise once he got to know it, but the other is blameworthy; and they have thoroughly opposed spirits. For the one fosters evil war and conflict—cruel one, no

¹ These requests are addressed to Zeus.

² This statement corrects the genealogy of Strife in *Theogony* 225.

15 σχετλίη· οὐ τις τήν γε φιλεῖ βροτός, ἀλλ' ὑπ'
ἀνάγκης
ἀθανάτων βουλῆσιν Ἱεριν τιμῶσι βαρεῖαν.
τὴν δ' ἑτέρην προτέρην μὲν ἐγείνατο Νὺξ ἐρεβεννή,
θῆκε δέ μιν Κρονίδης ὑψίζυγος, αἰθέρι ναιών
γαίης τ' ἐν ρίζῃσι καὶ ἀνδράσι πολλὸν ἀμείνω·
20 ἥ τε καὶ ἀπάλαμόν περ ὄμως ἐπὶ ἔργον ἔγειρεν.
εἰς ἔτερον γάρ τίς τε ἴδων ἔργοιο χατίζων
πλούσιον, ὃς σπεύδει μὲν ἀρώμεναι ἥδε φυτεύειν
οῖκόν τ' εὐθέσθαι, ζηλοῖ δέ τε γείτονα γείτων
εἰς ἄφενος σπεύδοντ· ἀγαθὴ δ' Ἱερις ἥδε βροτοῖσιν.
25 καὶ κεραμεὺς κεραμεῖ κοτέει καὶ τέκτονι τέκτων,
καὶ πτωχὸς πτωχῷ φθονέει καὶ ἀοιδὸς ἀοιδῷ.
ὤ Πέρση, σὺ δὲ ταῦτα τεῷ ἐνικάτθεο θυμῷ,
μηδέ σ' Ἱερις κακόχαρτος ἀπ' ἔργον θυμὸν ἐρύκοι
νείκε ὀπιπεύοντ' ἀγορῆς ἐπακούον ἔόντα.
30 ὥρη γάρ τ' ὀλίγη πέλεται νεικέων τ' ἀγορέων τε,
ὧτινι μὴ βίος ἔνδον ἐπηετανὸς κατάκειται
ώραιος, τὸν γαῖα φέρει, Δημήτερος ἀκτῆν.
τοῦ κε κορεσσάμενος νείκεα καὶ δῆριν ὀφέλλοις
κτήμασ' ἐπ' ἀλλοτρίοις. σοὶ δ' οὐκέτι δεύτερον ἔσται
35 ὥδ' ἔρδειν, ἀλλ' αὐθὶ διακρινώμεθα νεῦκος
ἰθείησι δίκης, αἴ τ' ἐκ Διός εἰσιν ἄρισται.
ἥδη μὲν γὰρ κλῆρον ἔδασσάμεθ', ἀλλά τε πολλὰ
ἀρπάζων ἐφόρεις μέγα κυδαίνων βασιλῆας
δωροφάγους, οἱ τήνδε δίκην ἐθέλουσι δικάσσαι,
40 νήπιοι, οὐδὲ ἵσασιν ὅσω πλέον ἥμισυ παντός,

mortal loves that one, but it is by necessity that they honor the oppressive Strife, by the plans of the immortals. But the other one gloomy Night bore first; and Cronus' high-throned son, who dwells in the aether, set it in the roots of the earth, and it is much better for men. It rouses even the helpless man to work. For a man who is not working but who looks at some other man, a rich one who is hastening to plow and plant and set his house in order, he envies him, one neighbor envying his neighbor who is hastening towards wealth: and this Strife is good for mortals. And potter is angry with potter, and builder with builder, and beggar begrudges beggar, and poet poet.

(27) Perses, do store this up in your spirit, lest gloating Strife keep your spirit away from work, while you gawk at quarrels and listen to the assembly. For he has little care for quarrels and assemblies, whoever does not have plentiful means of life stored up indoors in good season, what the earth bears, Demeter's grain. When you can take your fill of that, then you might foster quarrels and conflict for the sake of another man's wealth. But you will not have a second chance to act this way—no, let us decide our quarrel right here with straight judgments, which come from Zeus, the best ones. For already we had divided up our allotment, but you snatched much more besides and went carrying it off, greatly honoring the kings, those gift-eaters, who want to pass this judgment—fools, they do not know

19 τ' om. Par. 2763, del. Guyet

21 χατίζων DΦ Galenus al.: χατίζει C

οὐδ' ὅσον ἐν μαλάχῃ τε καὶ ἀσφοδέλῳ μέγ' ὅνειαρ.

κρύψαντες γὰρ ἔχουσι θεοὶ βίον ἀνθρώποισιν·
ρηιδίως γάρ κεν καὶ ἐπ' ἥματι ἐργάσσαιο
ῶστέ σε κεὶς ἐνιαυτὸν ἔχειν καὶ ἀεργὸν ἔόντα·
45 αἴψα κε πηδάλιον μὲν ὑπὲρ καπνοῦ καταθεῖο,
ἔργα βοῶν δ' ἀπόλοιτο καὶ ἡμιόνων ταλαεργῶν.

ἀλλὰ Ζεὺς ἔκρυψε χολωσάμενος φρεσὶν ἥσιν,
ὅττι μιν ἐξαπάτησε Προμηθεὺς ἀγκυλομήτης.
τούνεκ' ἄρ' ἀνθρώποισιν ἐμήσατο κήδεα λυγρά·
50 κρύψε δὲ πῦρ· τὸ μὲν αὐτις ἐὺς πάις Ἱαπετοῖο
ἔκλεψε ἀνθρώποισι Διὸς πὰρὰ μητιόεντος
ἐν κοίλῳ νάρθηκι, λαθὼν Δία τερπικέραυνον.
τὸν δὲ χολωσάμενος προσέφη νεφεληγερέτα
Ζεύς·

“ Ἱαπετιονίδη, πάντων πέρι μήδεα εἰδώς,
55 χαίρεις πῦρ κλέψας καὶ ἐμὰς φρένας ἡπεροπεύσας,
σοί τ' αὐτῷ μέγα πῆμα καὶ ἀνδράσιν ἐσσομένοισιν.
τοῖς δ' ἐγὼ ἀντὶ πυρὸς δώσω κακόν, ω̄ κεν ἄπαντες
τέρπωνται κατὰ θυμόν, ἐδὲν κακὸν ἀμφαγαπῶντες.”
ώσε ἔφατ', ἐκ δ' ἐγέλασσε πατὴρ ἀνδρῶν τε θεῶν
τε.

60 “Ηφαιστον δ' ἐκέλευσε περικλυτὸν ὅττι τάχιστα
γαῖαν ὕδει φύρειν, ἐν δ' ἀνθρώπου θέμεν αὐδὴν
καὶ σθένος, ἀθανάτης δὲ θεῆς εἰς ὥπα ἐίσκειν,
παρθενικῆς καλὸν εἶδος ἐπήρατον· αὐτὰρ Ἀθήνην

59 ἐτέλεσε Origenes

how much more the half is than the whole, nor how great the boon is in mallow and asphodel!³

(42) For the gods keep the means of life concealed from human beings. Otherwise you would easily be able to work in just one day so as to have enough for a whole year even without working, and quickly you would store the rudder above the smoke, and the work of the cattle and of the hard-working mules would be ended.

(47) But Zeus concealed it, angry in his heart because crooked-counseled Prometheus (Forethought) had deceived him.⁴ For that reason he devised baneful evils for human beings, and he concealed fire; but the good son of Iapetus⁵ stole it back from the counsellor Zeus in a hollow fennel-stalk for human beings, escaping the notice of Zeus who delights in the thunderbolt.

(53) But the cloud-gatherer Zeus spoke to him in anger: "Son of Iapetus, you who know counsels beyond all others, you are pleased that you have stolen fire and beguiled my mind—a great grief for you yourself, and for men to come. To them I shall give in exchange for fire an evil in which they may all take pleasure in their spirit, embracing their own evil."

(59) So he spoke, and he laughed out loud, the father of men and of gods. He commanded renowned Hephaestus to mix earth with water as quickly as possible, and to put the voice and strength of a human into it, and to make a beautiful, lovely form of a maiden similar in her face to the

³ Traditionally, the poor man's fare.

⁴ See *Th* 535–57.

⁵ Prometheus.

ἔργα διδασκῆσαι, πολυδαιδαλον ἵστὸν ὑφαίνειν·

65 καὶ χάριν ἀμφιχέαι κεφαλῇ χρυσῆν Ἀφροδίτην,
καὶ πόθον ἀργαλέον καὶ γυιοβόρους μελεδώνας·
ἐν δὲ θέμεν κύνεόν τε νόον καὶ ἐπίκλοπον ἥθος
Ἐρμείην ἥνωγε, διάκτορον ἀργειφόντην.

ώς ἔφαθ', οἱ δ' ἐπίθοντο Διὸν Κρονίωνι ἄνακτι.

70 αὐτίκα δ' ἐκ γαίης πλάσσε κλυτὸς Ἀμφιγυνήεις
παρθένῳ αἰδοίῃ ἵκελον Κρονίδεω διὰ βουλάς·
ζῶσε δὲ καὶ κόσμησε θεὰ γλαυκῶπις Ἀθήνη·
ἀμφὶ δέ οἱ Χάριτές τε θεαὶ καὶ πότνια Πειθὼ
ὅρμους χρυσείους ἔθεσαν χροῖ, ἀμφὶ δὲ τήν γε
75 Ὄραι καλλίκομοι στέφονται οὐθεσιν εἰαρινοῖσιν·
πάντα δέ οἱ χροῖ κόσμον ἐφήρμοσε Παλλὰς Ἀθήνη.
ἐν δ' ἄρα οἱ στήθεστι διάκτορος Ἀργειφόντης
ψεύδεά θ' αίμυλίους τε λόγους καὶ ἐπίκλοπον ἥθος
τεῦξε Διὸς βουλῆσι βαρυκτύπου· ἐν δ' ἄρα φωνὴν
80 θῆκε θεῶν κήρυξ, ὀνόμην δὲ τήνδε γυναικα
Παιδώρην, ὅτι πάντες Ὄλυμπια δώματ' ἔχοντες
δῶρον ἐδώρησαν, πῆμ' ἀνδράσιν ἀλφηστῆσιν.

αὐτὰρ ἐπεὶ δόλον αἴπὺν ἀμήχανον ἔξετέλεσσεν,
εἰς Ἐπιμηθέα πέμπε πατὴρ κλυτὸν Ἀργειφόντην
85 δῶρον ἄγοντα, θεῶν ταχὺν ἄγγελον· οὐδ' Ἐπιμηθεὺς
ἐφράσαθ', ὡς οἱ ἔειπε Προμηθεὺς μή ποτε δῶρον
δέξασθαι πὰρ Ζηνὸς Ὄλυμπίου, ἀλλ' ἀποπέμπειν

66 γυιοβόρους Σvet. (ci. Guyet): γυιοκόρους codd. Proclus
Σvet Origenes al.

70-2 (=Theog. 571-3) om. Origenes

immortal goddesses. He told Athena to teach her crafts, to weave richly worked cloth, and golden Aphrodite to shed grace and painful desire and limb-devouring cares around her head; and he ordered Hermes, the intermediary, the killer of Argus, to put a dog's mind and a thievish character into her.

(69) So he spoke, and they obeyed Zeus, the lord, Cronus' son. Immediately the famous Lame One fabricated out of earth a likeness of a modest maiden, by the plans of Cronus' son; the goddess, bright-eyed Athena, gave her a girdle and ornaments; the goddesses Graces and queenly Persuasion placed golden jewelry all around on her body; the beautiful-haired Seasons crowned her all around with spring flowers; and Pallas Athena fitted the whole ornamentation to her body. Then into her breast the intermediary, the killer of Argus, set lies and guileful words and a thievish character, by the plans of deep-thundering Zeus; and the messenger of the gods placed a voice in her and named this woman Pandora (All-Gift), since all those who have their mansions on Olympus had given her a gift—a woe for men who live on bread.

(83) When he had completed the sheer, intractable deception, the father sent the famous killer of Argus, the swift messenger of the gods, to take her as a gift to Epimetheus (Afterthought). And Epimetheus did not consider that Prometheus had told him never to accept a gift from Olympian Zeus, but to send it back again, lest some-

76 damn. Bentley

79 'περιπτόν' dixerunt quidam ap. Proclum, exp. Bentley

82 ἐσ<σ>ομένοισιν Philodemus

ἔξοπίσω, μή πού τι κακὸν θυητοῖσι γένηται.
αὐτὰρ ὁ δεξάμενος, ὅτε δὴ κακὸν εἶχ' ἐνόησεν.

90 πρὶν μὲν γὰρ ζώεσκον ἐπὶ χθονὶ φῦλ' ἀνθρώπων
νόσφιν ἄτερ τε κακῶν καὶ ἄτερ χαλεποῖο πόνοιο
νούσων τ' ἀργαλέων αἴ τ' ἀνδράσι κῆρας ἔδωκαν·
[αἰψα γὰρ ἐν κακότητι βροτοὶ καταγηράσκουσιν.]
ἀλλὰ γυνὴ χείρεσσι πίθου μέγα πῶμ' ἀφελοῦσα
95 ἐσκέδασ· ἀνθρώποισι δ' ἐμήσατο κῆδεα λυγρά.
μούνη δ' αὐτόθι Ἐλπὶς ἐν ἀρρήκτοισι δόμοισιν
ἔνδον ἔμιμνε πίθου ὑπὸ χείλεσιν, οὐδὲ θύραζε
ἐξέπτη· πρόσθεν γὰρ ἐπέμβαλε πῶμα πίθοιο
αἰγιόχου βουλῆσι Διὸς νεφεληγερέταο.
100 ἄλλα δὲ μυρία λυγρὰ κατ' ἀνθρώπους ἀλάληται·
πλείη μὲν γὰρ γαῖα κακῶν, πλείη δὲ θάλασσα·
νοῦσοι δ' ἀνθρώποισιν ἐφ' ἡμέρῃ, αἱ δ' ἐπὶ νυκτὶ¹
αὐτόμαται φοιτῶσι κακὰ θυητοῖσι φέρουσαι
σιγῇ, ἐπεὶ φωνὴν ἔξείλετο μητίετα Ζεύς.
105 οὕτως οὐ τί πη ἔστι Διὸς νόον ἔξαλέασθαι.

εἰ δ' ἐθέλεις, ἔτερόν τοι ἐγὼ λόγον ἐκκορυφώσω,
εὖ καὶ ἐπισταμένως, σὺ δ' ἐνὶ φρεσὶ βάλλεο σῆσιν,
ώς δμόθεν γεγάασι θεοὶ θυητοί τ' ἀνθρωποι.

93 solus E in textu, in mg. H (deest et in Origene, non respic.
Proclus Σ^{vet}) 96 δόμοισιν Π₄₁codd., testt.: μυχοῖσιν
Seleucus ap. Σ (ubi πίθοισι, μύθοισι male codd. quidam)

98 ἐπέμβαλε Φ: ἐπέβαλε Origenes (alterutrum et Σ^{vet}):
ἐπέλ(λ)αβε CDΣ^{vet} (ἔνιοι) Plutarchus Stobaeus

99 habent Π₄₁codd.: non habet Plutarchus (qui 94–8, 100–4),
non respic. Proclus Σ^{vet}

thing evil happen to mortals; it was only after he accepted her, when he already had the evil, that he understood.

(90) For previously the tribes of men used to live upon the earth entirely apart from evils, and without grievous toil and distressful diseases, which give death to men. [For in misery mortals grow old at once.]⁶ But the woman removed the great lid from the storage jar with her hands and scattered all its contents abroad—she wrought baneful evils for human beings. Only Anticipation⁷ remained there in its unbreakable home under the mouth of the storage jar, and did not fly out; for before that could happen she closed the lid of the storage jar, by the plans of the aegis-holder, the cloud-gatherer, Zeus. But countless other miseries roam among mankind; for the earth is full of evils, and the sea is full; and some sicknesses come upon men by day, and others by night, of their own accord, bearing evils to mortals in silence, since the counsellor Zeus took their voice away. Thus it is not possible in any way to evade the mind of Zeus.

(106) If you wish, I shall recapitulate⁸ another story, correctly and skillfully, and you lay it up in your spirit: how the gods and mortal human beings came about from the same origin.

⁶ This line is found in the margin or text of very few manuscripts; it is identical with *Od.* 19.360 and is generally rejected here as an intrusive gloss. ⁷ Often translated “Hope”; but the Greek word can mean anticipation of bad as well as of good things. ⁸ The precise meaning of the verb is unclear.

104 *ἀθετεῖται* Σ^{vet} (extat in Plutarcho)

108 exp. Lehrs (leg. Proclus Σ^{vet})

χρύσεον μὲν πρώτιστα γένος μερόπων ἀνθρώπων
 110 ἀθάνατοι ποίησαν Ὀλύμπια δώματ' ἔχοντες.
 οἱ μὲν ἐπὶ Κρόνου ἥσαν, ὅτ' οὐρανῷ ἐμβασίλευεν·
 ὥστε θεοὶ δ' ἔζων ἀκηδέα θυμὸν ἔχοντες,
 νόσφιν ἄτερ τε πόνου καὶ διζύος· οὐδέ τι δειλὸν
 γῆρας ἐπῆν, αἰὲν δὲ πόδας καὶ χεῖρας ὅμοιοι
 115 τέρποντ' ἐν θαλίῃσι κακῶν ἔκτοσθεν ἀπάντων·
 θυγῆσκον δ' ὥσθ' ὑπνῷ δεδμημένοι· ἐσθλὰ δὲ πάντα
 τοῖσιν ἔην· καρπὸν δ' ἔφερε ζείδωρος ἄρουρα
 αὐτομάτη πολλόν τε καὶ ἄφθονον· οἱ δ' ἐθελημοὶ
 ἥσυχοι ἔργ' ἐνέμοντο σὺν ἐσθλοῖσιν πολέεσσιν.
 120 ἀφνειοὶ μῆλοισι, φίλοι μακάρεσσι θεοῖσιν.
 αὐτὰρ ἐπεὶ δὴ τοῦτο γένος κατὰ γαῖα κάλυψεν,
 τοὶ μὲν δαίμονές εἰσι Διὸς μεγάλου διὰ βουλὰς
 ἐσθλοί, ἐπιχθόνιοι, φύλακες θυητῶν ἀνθρώπων,
 οἵ ῥα φυλάσσουσίν τε δίκας καὶ σχέτλια ἔργα
 125 ἡέρα ἐσσάμενοι, πάντη φοιτῶντες ἐπ' αἰαν,
 πλουτοδόται· καὶ τοῦτο γέρας βασιλήιον ἔσχον.

δεύτερον αὖτε γένος πολὺ χειρότερον μετόπισθεν
 ἀργύρεον ποίησαν Ὀλύμπια δώματ' ἔχοντες,
 χρυσέῳ οὔτε φυὴν ἐναλίγκιον οὔτε νόημα.
 130 ἀλλ' ἔκατὸν μὲν παῖς ἔτεα παρὰ μητέρι κεδνῆ
 ἐτρέφετ' ἀτάλλων μέγα νήπιος ὃ ἐνὶ οἴκῳ·
 ἀλλ' ὅτ' ἄρ' ἡβήσαι τε καὶ ἡβῆς μέτρον ἵκοιτο,

113 πόνοιν Π₈ Herodianus rhetor: πόνων codd. Eustathius120 solus praebet Diodorus: om. Π₃₈ ut vid., prorsus neglexit Dicaearchus

(109) Golden was the race of speech-endowed human beings which the immortals, who have their mansions on Olympus, made first of all. They lived at the time of Cronus, when he was king in the sky; just like gods they spent their lives, with a spirit free from care, entirely apart from toil and distress. Worthless old age did not oppress them, but they were always the same in their feet and hands, and delighted in festivities, lacking in all evils; and they died as if overpowered by sleep. They had all good things: the grain-giving field bore crops of its own accord, much and unstinting, and they themselves, willing, mild-mannered, shared out the fruits of their labors together with many good things, wealthy in sheep, dear to the blessed gods. But since the earth covered up this race, by the plans of great Zeus they are fine spirits upon the earth, guardians of mortal human beings: they watch over judgments and cruel deeds, clad in invisibility, walking everywhere upon the earth, givers of wealth; and this kingly honor they received.

(127) Afterwards those who have their mansions on Olympus made a second race, much worse, of silver, like the golden one neither in body nor in mind. A boy would be nurtured for a hundred years at the side of his cherished mother, playing in his own house, a great fool. But when they reached adolescence and arrived at the full measure

122 εἰσι Διὸς μεγάλον διὰ βουλὰς ἐσθλοὶ ἐπιχθόνιοι
 codd. Proclus Lactantius: ἀγνοὶ (hoc et Plutarchus) ἐπιχθόνιοι
 τελέθοντι (καλέονται Plato Crat.) ἐσθλοὶ ἀλεξίκακοι Plato
 Crat. Resp. ἐπιχθόνιοι et Σvet al.: ὑποχθ. Plato Crat. codd.

124-5 (=254-5) om. Π₃₈ut vid. Π₄₀ Proclus Plutarchus
 Macrobius: habent codd. Σ_c

παυρίδιον ζώεσκον ἐπὶ χρόνον, ἄλγε' ἔχοντες
 ἀφραδίης· ὕβριν γὰρ ἀτάσθαλον οὐκ ἔδύναντο
 135 ἀλλήλων ἀπέχειν, οὐδὲ ἀθανάτους θεραπεύειν
 ἥθελον οὐδὲ ἔρδειν μακάρων ἵεροῖς ἐπὶ βωμοῖς,
 ἥθεμις ἀνθρώποισι κατ' ἥθεα. τοὺς μὲν ἔπειτα
 Ζεὺς Κρονίδης ἔκρυψε χολούμενος, οὕνεκα τιμὰς
 οὐκ ἔδιδον μακάρεσσι θεοῖς οἱ Ὀλυμπον ἔχουσιν.
 140 αὐτὰρ ἔπει καὶ τοῦτο γένος κατὰ γαῖα κάλυψεν,
 τοὶ μὲν ὑποχθόνιοι μάκαρες θυητοὶ καλέονται,
 δεύτεροι, ἄλλ' ἔμπης τιμὴ καὶ τοῖσιν ὀπηδεῖ.

Ζεὺς δὲ πατὴρ τρίτον ἄλλο γένος μερόπων
 ἀνθρώπων

χάλκειον ποίησ', οὐκ ἀργυρέῳ οὐδὲν ὅμοιον,
 145 ἐκ μελιᾶν, δεινόν τε καὶ ὕβριμον, οῖσιν Ἀρηος
 ἔργον ἔμελε στονόεντα καὶ ὕβριες· οὐδέ τι σῖτον
 ἥσθιον, ἄλλ' ἀδάμαντος ἔχον κρατερόφρονα θυμόν·
 ἄπλαστοι· μεγάλη δὲ βίη καὶ χείρες ἄπτοι
 ἐξ ὕμων ἐπέφυκον ἐπὶ στιβαροῖσι μέλεσσιν.
 150 τῶν δὲ ἥν χάλκεα μὲν τεύχεα, χάλκεοι δέ τε οῖκοι,
 χαλκῷ δὲ εἰργάζοντο· μέλας δὲ οὐκ ἔσκε σίδηρος.
 καὶ τοὶ μὲν χείρεσσιν ὑπὸ σφετέρησι δαμέντες
 βῆσαν ἐς εὐρώεντα δόμον κρυεροῦ Ἀίδαο,
 νώνυμνοι· θάνατος δὲ καὶ ἐκπάγλους περ ἔόντας
 155 εἶλε μέλας, λαμπρὸν δὲ ἔλιπον φάος ἡελίου.

141 ὑποχθόνιοι Proclus CrasD, reicit Tzetzes: ἐπιχθ-
 ΣTzetzesψ: τοι χθ- Φ μάκαρες Σcodd.: φύλακες Proclus θυητοῖ
 Ε: θεοὶ Drasφ₇ + ψ₁₅: θυητοῖς Peppmüller

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of puberty, they would live for a short time only, suffering pains because of their acts of folly. For they could not restrain themselves from wicked outrage against each other, nor were they willing to honor the immortals or to sacrifice upon the holy altars of the blessed ones, as is established right for human beings in each community. Then Zeus, Cronus' son, concealed these in anger, because they did not give honors to the blessed gods who dwell on Olympus. But since the earth covered up this race too, they are called blessed mortals under the earth—in second place, but all the same honor attends upon these as well.

(143) Zeus the father made another race of speech-endowed human beings, a third one, of bronze, not similar to the silver one at all, out of ash trees⁹—terrible and strong they were, and they cared only for the painful works of Ares and for acts of violence. They did not eat bread, but had a strong-hearted spirit of adamant—unapproachable they were, and upon their massive limbs grew great strength and untouchable hands out of their shoulders. Their weapons were of bronze, bronze were their houses, with bronze they worked; there was not any black iron. And these, overpowered by one another's hands, went down nameless into the dank house of chilly Hades: black death seized them, frightful though they were, and they left behind the bright light of the sun.

⁹ Or from the Melian nymphs—which may just be another way of saying the same thing. See note on *Theogony* 187.

146 ὕβριος West

148 ἄπλατοι C Proclus

αὐτὰρ ἐπεὶ καὶ τοῦτο γένος κατὰ γαῖα κάλυψεν,
αὗτις ἔτ’ ἄλλο τέταρτον ἐπὶ χθονὶ πουλυβοτείρη
Ζεὺς Κρονίδης ποίησε, δικαιότερον καὶ ἄρειον,
ἀνδρῶν ἡρώων θεῖον γένος, οἱ καλέονται
160 ἡμίθεοι, προτέρη γενεὴ κατ’ ἀπείρονα γαῖαν.
καὶ τοὺς μὲν πόλεμός τε κακὸς καὶ φύλοπις αἰνὴ
τοὺς μὲν ὑφ’ ἐπταπύλω Θήβη, Καδμηίδι γαίη,
ἄλεσε μαρναμένους μῆλων ἐνεκ’ Οἰδιπόδαο,
τοὺς δὲ καὶ ἐν νήεσσιν ὑπὲρ μέγα λαῖτμα
θαλάσσης

165 ἐς Τροίην ἀγαγὼν Ἐλένης ἐνεκ’ ἡνκόμοιο.
ἐνθ’ ἡ τοι τοὺς μὲν θανάτου τέλος ἀμφεκάλυψεν,
τοῖς δὲ δίχ’ ἀνθρώπων βίοτον καὶ ἥθε’ ὀπάσσας
168 Ζεὺς Κρονίδης κατένασσε πατὴρ ἐς πείρατα γαίης,
170 καὶ τοὶ μὲν ναίουσιν ἀκηδέα θυμὸν ἔχοντες
ἐν μακάρων νήσοισι παρ’ Ὡκεανὸν βαθυδίνην.
ὅλβιοι ἥρωες, τοῖσιν μελιηδέα καρπὸν
τρὶς ἔτεος θάλλοντα φέρει ζείδωρος ἄρουρα.

μηκέτ’ ἔπειτ’ ὥφελλον ἐγὼ πέμπτοισι μετεῖναι
175 ἀνδράσιν, ἄλλ’ ἡ πρόσθε θανεῖν ἡ ἔπειτα γενέσθαι.

173 a-e τηλοῦ ἀπ’ ἀθανάτων τοῖσιν Κρόνος ἐμβασιλεύει.
αὐτὸς γάρ μ]ιν ἔλυσε πατ[ὴρ ἀνδρῶ]ν τε θε[ῶν τε·
νῦν δ’ αἰεὶ] μετὰ τοῖς τιμὴ[ν ἔ]χει ὡς ἐ[πιεικές.
Ζεὺς δ’ αὖτ’ ἄ]λλο γένος θῆκ[εν μερόπων
ἀνθρώπων
ὅσσοι νῦ]ν γεγάσσιν ἐπὶ [χθονὶ πουλυβοτείρη].

173 a (olim 169) post 160 memorat Σ; ante b-c habet Π₃₈, b-e autem ante 174 Π₈

173 a ἐβασίλευε Σ: ἐν[Π₃₈; -ει Buttmann b init. suppl. West, cetera Weil c init. suppl. Maehler: νῦν δ’ ἥδη West τοῖσι

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(156) When the earth covered up this race too, Zeus, Cronus' son, made another one in turn upon the bounteous earth, a fourth one, more just and superior, the godly race of men-heroes, who are called demigods, the generation before our own upon the boundless earth. Evil war and dread battle destroyed these, some under seven-gated Thebes in the land of Cadmus while they fought for the sake of Oedipus' sheep, others brought in boats over the great gulf of the sea to Troy for the sake of fair-haired Helen. There the end of death shrouded some of them, but upon others Zeus the father, Cronus' son, bestowed life and habitations far from human beings and settled them at the limits of the earth; and these dwell with a spirit free of care on the Islands of the Blessed beside deep-eddying Ocean—happy heroes, for whom the grain-giving field bears honey-sweet fruit flourishing three times a year.¹⁰

(174) If only then I did not have to live among the fifth men, but could have either died first or been born after-

¹⁰ After this line, two papyri transmit the following lines, 173a-e (line 173a is also found in a few other sources): "far from human beings. Among these Cronus is king. For the father of men and of gods freed him himself; and now among these he always has honor, as is fitting. Zeus established another race of mortal human beings in turn, those who have now come into being upon the bounteous earth." This passage is most likely a very late interpolation, designed to reconcile Zeus with Cronus and to provide the fifth race with an introduction similar to that of the first four.

Π₈: corr. Weil $\tau\iota\mu\dot{\eta}[\nu$ Weil, cetera Maehler d init. suppl. West, exit. Wilam. e init. supplevit Solmsen: $\tau\hat{\omega}\nu\ o\hat{\iota}\ \nu\hat{\nu}]\nu$ Kuiper: $o\hat{\iota}\ \kappa\dot{\alpha}\ \nu\hat{\nu}]\nu$ Wilamowitz, exit. Weil

νῦν γὰρ δὴ γένος ἔστι σιδήρεον· οὐδέ ποτ’ ἥμαρ
παύσονται καμάτου καὶ ὄιζύος οὐδέ τι νύκτωρ
τειρόμενοι· χαλεπὰς δὲ θεοὶ δώσουσι μερίμνας.

ἀλλ’ ἔμπης καὶ τοῖσι μεμείξεται ἐσθλὰ κακοῖσιν.

180 Ζεὺς δ’ ὀλέσει καὶ τοῦτο γένος μερόπων ἀνθρώπων,
εὗτ’ ἀν γεινόμενοι πολιοκρόταφοι τελέθωσιν.

οὐδὲ πατὴρ παίδεσσιν ὁμοίος οὐδέ τι παῖδες,

οὐδὲ ξεῖνος ξεινοδόκω καὶ ἑταῖρος ἑταίρω,

οὐδὲ κασίγνητος φίλος ἔσσεται, ὡς τὸ πάρος περ.

185 αἴψα δὲ γηράσκοντας ἀτιμήσουσι τοκῆας·

μέμψονται δ’ ἄρα τοὺς χαλεποῖς βάζοντες ἔπεσσιν,
σχέτλιοι, οὐδὲ θεῶν ὅπιν εἰδότες· οὐδὲ μὲν οἴ γε
γηράντεσσι τοκεῦσιν ἀπὸ θρεπτήρια δοῖεν.

χειροδίκαι· ἔτερος δ’ ἔτερον πόλιν ἔξαλαπάξει·

190 οὐδέ τις εὐόρκου χάρις ἔσσεται οὐδὲ δικαίου
οὕτ’ ἀγαθοῦ, μᾶλλον δὲ κακῶν ρεκτῆρα καὶ ὕβριν
ἀνέρα τιμήσουσι· δίκη δ’ ἐν χερσί καὶ αἰδὼς
οὐκ ἔσται· βλάψει δ’ ὁ κακὸς τὸν ἀρείονα φῶτα
μύθοισι σκολιοῖς ἐνέπων, ἐπὶ δ’ ὅρκον ὀμεῖται.

195 Ζῆλος δ’ ἀνθρώποισιν διζυροῖσιν ἄπασιν
δυσκέλαδος κακόχαρτος ὁμαρτήσει, στυγερώπης.
καὶ τότε δὴ πρὸς Ὀλυμπον ἀπὸ χθονὸς εὐρυοδείης
λευκοῖσιν φάρεσσι καλυψαμένω χρόα καλὸν
ἀθανάτων μετὰ φῦλον ἵτον προλιπόντ’ ἀνθρώπους

200 Αἰδὼς καὶ Νέμεσις· τὰ δὲ λεύψεται ἄλγεα λυγρὰ

177 π]αύονται Π₈

178 τ]ειρόμενοι ε Π₃₈ West: φθειρόμενοι codd.

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wards! For now the race is indeed one of iron. And they will not cease from toil and distress by day, nor from being worn out by suffering at night, and the gods will give them grievous cares. Yet all the same, for these people too good things will be mingled with evil ones. But Zeus will destroy this race of speech-endowed human beings too, when at their birth the hair on their temples will be quite gray. Father will not be like-minded with sons, nor sons at all,¹¹ nor guest with host, nor comrade with comrade, nor will the brother be dear, as he once was. They will dishonor their aging parents at once; they will reproach them, addressing them with grievous words—cruel men, who do not know of the gods' retribution!—nor would they repay their aged parents for their rearing. Their hands will be their justice, and one man will destroy the other's city. Nor will there be any grace for the man who keeps his oath, nor for the just man or the good one, but they will give more honor to the doer of evil and the outrage man. Justice will be in their hands, and reverence will not exist, but the bad man will harm the superior one, speaking with crooked discourses, and he will swear an oath upon them. And Envy, evil-sounding, gloating, loathsome-faced, will accompany all wretched human beings. Then indeed will Reverence and Indignation cover their beautiful skin with white mantles, leave human beings behind and go from the broad-pathed earth to the race of the immortals, to Olympus. Baleful

¹¹ I.e. with their father.

189 exp. Hagen: post 181 traiec. Pertusi

192 post *χερσί* interpusxit Heinsius

θυητοῖς ἀνθρώποισι, κακοῦ δ' οὐκ ἔσσεται ἀλκή.

νῦν δ' αἶνον βασιλεῦσ' ἐρέω, φρονέουσι καὶ
αὐτοῖς.

ἄδ' ἵρηξ προσέειπεν ἀηδόνα ποικιλόδειρον,
νῦψι μάλ' ἐν νεφέεσσι φέρων, ὀνύχεσσι μεμαρπώσι·
205 ή δ' ἐλεόν, γναμπτοῖσι πεπαρμένη ἀμφ' ὀνύχεσσιν,
μύρετο· τὴν δέ γέ ἐπικρατέως πρὸς μῦθον ἔειπεν·
“δαιμονίη, τί λέληκας; ἔχει νύ σε πολλὸν ἀρείων·
τῇ δέ εἰς ἥ σ' ἀν ἐγώ περ ἄγω καὶ ἀοιδὸν ἐοῦσαν·
δεῖπνον δέ αἴ κ' ἐθέλω ποιήσομαι ηὲ μεθήσω.
210 ἄφρων δέ ὅς κ' ἐθέλῃ πρὸς κρείσσονας ἀντιφερίζειν·
νίκης τε στέρεται πρός τ' αἴσχεσιν ἄλγεα πάσχει.”
ώς ἔφατ' ὡκυπέτης ἵρηξ, τανυσίπτερος ὅρνις.

ὦ Πέρση, σὺ δέ ἄκουε Δίκης, μηδ' “Τβριν
ὅφελλε·

“Τβρις γάρ τε κακὴ δειλῷ βροτῷ οὐδὲ μὲν ἐσθλὸς
215 ρήιδίως φερέμεν δύναται, βαρύθει δέ θ' ὑπ' αὐτῆς
ἐγκύρσας ἄτησιν· ὁδὸς δέ ἐτέρηφι παρελθεῖν
κρείσσων ἐσ τὰ δίκαια· Δίκη δέ ὑπὲρ “Τβριος ἵσχει
ἐσ τέλος ἐξελθοῦσα· παθὼν δέ τε νήπιος ἔγνω·
αὐτίκα γὰρ τρέχει “Ορκος ἄμα σκολιῆσι δίκησιν,
220 τῆς δὲ Δίκης ρόθος ἐλκομένης ἥ κ' ἄνδρες ἄγωσιν
δωροφάγοι, σκολιῆς δὲ δίκης κρίνωσι θέμιστας.
ἡ δέ ἔπεται κλαίουσα πόλιν καὶ ἥθεα λαῶν,

210–11 ath. Aristarchus, habent Π₅ Π₈ Π₃₈ etc.: post 212
transp. Graevius

WORKS AND DAYS

pains will be left for mortal human beings, and there will be no safeguard against evil.

(202) And now I will tell a fable to kings who themselves too have understanding. This is how the hawk addressed the colorful-necked nightingale, carrying her high up among the clouds, grasping her with its claws, while she wept piteously, pierced by the curved claws; he said to her forcefully, "Silly bird, why are you crying out? One far superior to you is holding you. You are going wherever I shall carry you, even if you are a singer; I shall make you my dinner if I wish, or I shall let you go. Stupid he who would wish to contend against those stronger than he is: for he is deprived of the victory, and suffers pains in addition to his humiliations." So spoke the swift-flying hawk, the long-winged bird.

(213) As for you, Perses, give heed to Justice and do not foster Outrageousness. For Outrageousness is evil in a worthless mortal; and even a fine man cannot bear her easily, but encounters calamities and then is weighed down under her. The better road is the one towards what is just, passing her by on the other side. Justice wins out over Outrageousness when she arrives at the end; but the fool only knows this after he has suffered. For at once Oath starts to run along beside crooked judgments, and there is a clamor when Justice is dragged where men, gift-eaters, carry her off and pronounce verdicts with crooked judgments; but she stays, weeping, with the city and the people's abodes,

211 *αἰσχεσιν ἀλγεα Π₅ Π₈ Π₃₈* Etym.codd., testt.: *ἀλγεσιν αἰσχεα* Merkelbach

ἡέρα ἐσσαμένη, κακὸν ἀνθρώποισι φέρουσα
οἵ τέ μιν ἔξελάσουσι καὶ οὐκ ἵθεῖαν ἔνειμαν.

225 οἵ δὲ δίκας ξείνοισι καὶ ἐνδήμοισι διδοῦσιν
ιθείας καὶ μή τι παρεκβαίνουσι δικαίου,
τοῖσι τέθηλε πόλις, λαοὶ δ' ἀνθέουσιν ἐν αὐτῇ·
Εἰρήνη δ' ἀνὰ γῆν κουροτρόφος, οὐδέ ποτ' αὐτοῖς
ἀργαλέον πόλεμον τεκμαίρεται εὐρύοπα Ζεύς·
230 οὐδέ ποτ' ἰθυδίκησι μετ' ἀνδράσι λιμὸς ὀπηδεῖ
οὐδ' ἄτη, θαλίης δὲ μεμηλότα ἔργα νέμονται.
τοῖσι φέρει μὲν γαῖα πολὺν βίον, οὔρεσι δὲ δρῦς
ἄκρη μέν τε φέρει βαλάνους, μέστη δὲ μελίσσας·
εἰροπόκοι δ' ὅιες μαλλοῖς καταβεβρίθασι·
235 τίκτουσιν δὲ γυναικες ἔοικότα τέκνα γονεῦσιν·
θάλλουσιν δ' ἀγαθοῖσι διαμπερές· οὐδ' ἐπὶ νηῶν
νίσονται, καρπὸν δὲ φέρει ζείδωρος ἄρουρα.
 οἵς δ' ὕβρις τε μέμηλε κακὴ καὶ σχέτλια ἔργα,
τοῖς δὲ δίκην Κρονίδης τεκμαίρεται εὐρύοπα Ζεύς.
240 πολλάκι καὶ ξύμπασα πόλις κακοῦ ἀνδρὸς ἀπηύρα,
ὅστις ἀλιτραίνει καὶ ἀτάσθαλα μηχανάαται.
τοῖσιν δ' οὐρανόθεν μέγ' ἐπήγαγε πῆμα Κρονίων,
λιμὸν ὁμοῦ καὶ λοιμόν· ἀποφθινύθουσι δὲ λαοί·
οὐδὲ γυναικες τίκτουσιν, μινύθουσι δὲ οἵκοι
245 Ζηνὸς φραδμοσύνησιν Ὀλυμπίου· ἄλλοτε δ' αὐτε
ἢ τῶν γε στρατὸν εὐρὺν ἀπώλεσεν ἢ' ὁ γε τεῖχος
ἢ νέας ἐν πόντῳ Κρονίδης ἀποτείνυται αὐτῶν.
 ῳ βασιλῆς, ὑμεῖς δὲ καταφράζεσθε καὶ αὐτοὶ^{τέ}
τήνδε δίκην· ἐγγὺς γὰρ ἐν ἀνθρώποισιν ἔόντες
250 ἀθάνατοι φράζονται, ὅσοι σκολιῆσι δίκησιν

clad in invisibility, bearing evil to the human beings who drive her out and do not deal straight.

(225) But those who give straight judgments to foreigners and fellow-citizens and do not turn aside from justice at all, their city blooms and the people in it flower. For them, Peace, the nurse of the young, is on the earth, and far-seeing Zeus never marks out painful war; nor does famine attend straight-judging men, nor calamity, but they share out in festivities the fruits of the labors they care for. For these the earth bears the means of life in abundance, and on the mountains the oak tree bears acorns on its surface, and bees in its center; their woolly sheep are weighed down by their fleeces; and their wives give birth to children who resemble their parents. They bloom with good things continuously. And they do not go onto ships, for the grain-giving field bears them crops.

(238) But to those who care only for evil outrageousness and cruel deeds, far-seeing Zeus, Cronus' son, marks out justice. Often even a whole city suffers because of an evil man who sins and devises wicked deeds. Upon them, Cronus' son brings forth woe from the sky, famine together with pestilence, and the people die away; the women do not give birth, and the households are diminished by the plans of Olympian Zeus. And at another time Cronus' son destroys their broad army or their wall, or he takes vengeance upon their ships on the sea.

(248) As for you kings, too, ponder this justice yourselves. For among human beings there are immortals nearby, who take notice of all those who grind one another

244-45 Π₅Π₉ codd.: in libris nonnullis defuisse testatur
Plutarchus (ap. Proclum), non laud. Aeschines

ἀλλήλους τρίβουσι θεῶν ὅπιν οὐκ ἀλέγοντες.
 τρὶς γὰρ μύριοί εἰσὶν ἐπὶ χθονὶ πουλυβοτείρη
 ἀθάνατοι Ζηνὸς φύλακες θυητῶν ἀνθρώπων,
 οἵ ῥα φυλάσσουσίν τε δίκας καὶ σχέτλια ἔργα,
 255 ηέρα ἐστάμενοι, πάντῃ φοιτῶντες ἐπ' αἶαν.
 ἡ δέ τε παρθένος ἐστὶ Δίκη, Διὸς ἐκγεγανῖα,
 κυδρή τ' αἰδοίη τε θεοῖς οἵ Ὀλυμπον ἔχουσιν·
 καί ρ' ὅπότ' ἀν τίς μιν βλάπτη σκολιῶς ὀνοτάζων,
 αὐτίκα πὰρ Διὸν πατρὶ καθεζομένη Κρονίωνι
 260 γηρύετ' ἀνθρώπων ἄδικον νόον, ὅφρ' ἀποτείση
 δῆμος ἀτασθαλίας βασιλέων, οἵ λυγρὰ νοέοντες
 ἄλλῃ παρκλίνωσι δίκας σκολιῶς ἐνέποντες.
 ταῦτα φυλασσόμενοι βασιλῆς ιθύνετε μύθους
 δωροφάγοι, σκολιῶν δὲ δικέων ἐπὶ πάγχυ λάθεσθε.
 265 οἵ τ' αὐτῷ κακὰ τεύχει ἀνὴρ ἄλλῳ κακὰ τεύχων,
 ἡ δὲ κακὴ βουλὴ τῷ βουλεύσαντι κακίστῃ.
 πάντα ίδων Διὸς ὄφθαλμὸς καὶ πάντα νοήσας
 καί νυ τάδ' αἴ κ' ἐθέλησ' ἐπιδέρκεται, οὐδέ ἐ λήθει
 οἴην δὴ καὶ τήνδε δίκην πόλις ἐντὸς ἔέργει.
 270 νῦν δὴ ἐγὼ μήτ' αὐτὸς ἐν ἀνθρώποισι δίκαιος
 εἴην μήτ' ἐμὸς νιός, ἐπεὶ κακὸν ἄνδρα δίκαιον
 ἔμμεναι, εἰ μείζω γε δίκην ἀδικώτερος ἔξει·
 ἄλλὰ τά γ' οὐ πω ἔολπα τελεῖν Δία μητιόεντα.
 ὡς Πέρση, σὺ δὲ ταῦτα μετὰ φρεσὶ βάλλεο
 σῆσιν,
 275 καί νυ Δίκης ἐπάκουε, βίης δ' ἐπιλήθεο πάμπαν.
 τόνδε γὰρ ἀνθρώποισι νόμον διέταξε Κρονίων,
 ίχθύσι μὲν καὶ θηρσὶ καὶ οἰωνοῖς πετεηνοῖς

down with crooked judgments and have no care for the gods' retribution. Thrice ten thousand are Zeus' immortal guardians of mortal human beings upon the bounteous earth, and they watch over judgments and cruel deeds, clad in invisibility, walking everywhere upon the earth. There is a maiden, Justice, born of Zeus, celebrated and revered by the gods who dwell on Olympus, and whenever someone harms her by crookedly scorning her, she sits down at once beside her father Zeus, Cronus' son, and proclaims the unjust mind of human beings, so that he will take vengeance upon the people for the wickedness of their kings, who think baneful thoughts and bend judgments to one side by pronouncing them crookedly. Bear this in mind, kings, and straighten your discourses, you gift-eaters, and put crooked judgments quite out of your minds. A man contrives evil for himself when he contrives evil for someone else, and an evil plan is most evil for the planner. Zeus' eye, which sees all things and knows all things, perceives this too, if he so wishes, and he is well aware just what kind of justice this is which the city has within it. Right now I myself would not want to be a just man among human beings, neither I nor a son of mine, since it is evil for a man to be just if the more unjust one will receive greater justice. But I do not anticipate that the counsellor Zeus will let things end up this way.

(274) Perses, lay these things in your heart and give heed to Justice, and put violence entirely out of your mind. This is the law that Cronus' son has established for human beings: that fish and beasts and winged birds eat one an-

263 μύθους Φ: δίκας CD
267-73 damn. Plutarchus

280 ἔσθειν ἀλλήλους, ἐπεὶ οὐ Δίκη ἔστι μετ' αὐτοῖς·
ἀνθρώποισι δ' ἔδωκε Δίκην, ἢ πολλὸν ἀρίστη
γίνεται· εἰ γάρ τις κ' ἔθέλη τὰ δίκαια ἀγορεῦσαι
γινώσκων, τῷ μέν τ' ὅλβον διδοῖ εὐρύοπα Ζεύς·
ὅς δέ κε μαρτυρίησιν ἔκὼν ἐπίορκον δμόστας
ψεύσεται, ἐν δὲ Δίκην βλάψας νήκεστον ἀάσθη,
τοῦ δέ τ' ἀμαυροτέρη γενεὴ μετόπισθε λέλειπται·
285 ἀνδρὸς δ' εὐόρκου γενεὴ μετόπισθεν ἀμείνων.

σοὶ δ' ἔγὼ ἔσθλὰ νοέων ἔρέω, μέγα νήπιε Πέρση·
τὴν μέν τοι Κακότητα καὶ ἵλαδὸν ἔστιν ἐλέσθαι
ρηιδίως· λείη μὲν ὁδός, μάλα δ' ἔγγυθι ναίει·
τῆς δ' Ἀρετῆς ἵδρωτα θεοὶ προπάροιθεν ἔθηκαν
290 ἀθάνατοι· μακρὸς δὲ καὶ ὅρθιος οἶμος ἐσ αὐτὴν
καὶ τρηχὺς τὸ πρῶτον· ἐπὴν δ' εἰς ἄκρον ἵκηται,
ρηιδίη δῆπειτα πέλει, χαλεπή περ ἔοῦσα.

οὗτος μὲν πανάριστος, ὃς αὐτῷ πάντα νοήσει,
φρασσάμενος τά κ' ἔπειτα καὶ ἐσ τέλος ἥσιν ἀμείνων·
295 ἔσθλὸς δ' αὐτὸς καὶ κεῖνος, ὃς εὖ εἰπόντι πίθηται·
ὅς δέ κε μήτ' αὐτὸς νοέη μήτ' ἄλλον ἀκούων
ἐν θυμῷ βάλληται, ὁ δ' αὐτὸς ἀχρήιος ἀνήρ.
ἄλλὰ σύ γ' ἡμετέρης μεμνημένος αἰὲν ἔφετμῆς
ἔργαζεο Πέρση, δῖον γένος, ὅφρα σε Λιμὸς
300 ἔχθαιρη, φιλέη δέ σ' ἐνστέφανος Δημήτηρ
αἰδοίη, βιότου δὲ τεὴν πιμπλῆσι καλιήν·
Λιμὸς γάρ τοι πάμπαν ἀεργῷ σύμφορος ἀνδρί.
τῷ δὲ θεοὶ νεμεσῶσι καὶ ἀνέρες, ὃς κεν ἀεργὸς

other, since Justice is not among them; but to human beings he has given Justice, which is the best by far. For if someone who recognizes what is just is willing to speak it out publicly, then far-seeing Zeus gives him wealth. But whoever willfully swears a false oath, telling a lie in his testimony, he himself is incurably hurt at the same time as he harms Justice, and in after times his family is left more obscure; whereas the family of the man who keeps his oath is better in after times.

(286) To you, Perses, you great fool, I will speak my fine thoughts: Misery is there to be grabbed in abundance, easily, for smooth is the road, and she lives very nearby; but in front of Excellence the immortal gods have set sweat, and the path to her is long and steep, and rough at first—yet when one arrives at the top, then it becomes easy, difficult though it still is.

(293) The man who thinks of everything by himself, considering what will be better, later and in the end—this man is the best of all. That man is fine too, the one who is persuaded by someone who speaks well. But whoever neither thinks by himself nor pays heed to what someone else says and lays it to his heart—that man is good for nothing. So, Perses, you of divine stock, keep working and always bear in mind our behest, so that Famine will hate you and well-garlanded reverend Demeter will love you and fill your granary with the means of life. For Famine is ever the companion of a man who does not work; and gods and men feel resentment against that man, whoever lives without

288 *λείη* Plato Xenophon al.: *όλιγη* codd. Proclus

ζώη, κηφήνεσσι κοθούροις εἴκελος ὄργην,
 305 οἵ τε μελισσάων κάματον τρύχουσιν ἀεργοὶ
 ἔσθοντες· σοὶ δ' ἔργα φίλ' ἔστω μέτρια κοσμεῖν,
 ὡς κέ τοι ὠραίου βιότου πλήθωσι καλιαί.
 ἔξ ἔργων δ' ἄνδρες πολύμηλοι τ' ἀφνειοί τε·
 καί τ' ἔργαζόμενος πολὺ φίλτερος ἀθανάτοισιν
 310 ἔσσεαι ἥδε βροτοῖς· μάλα γὰρ στυγέουσιν ἀεργούς.
 ἔργον δ' οὐδὲν ὄνειδος, ἀεργίη δέ τ' ὄνειδος·
 εἰ δέ κεν ἔργαζη, τάχα σε ζηλώσει ἀεργὸς
 πλουτέοντα· πλούτῳ δ' ἀρετὴ καὶ κῦδος ὀπηδεῖ·
 δαίμονι δ' οἶος ἔησθα, τὸ ἔργαζεσθαι ἄμεινον,
 315 εἴ κεν ἀπ' ἀλλοτρίων κτεάνων ἀεσίφρονα θυμὸν
 εἰς ἔργον τρέψας μελετᾶς βίου, ὡς σε κελεύω.
 αἰδὼς δ' οὐκ ἀγαθὴ κεχρημένον ἄνδρα κομίζειν,
 αἰδώς, ἢ τ' ἄνδρας μέγα σίνεται ἥδ' ὄνινησιν·
 αἰδώς τοι πρὸς ἀνολβίη, θάρσος δὲ πρὸς ὄλβῳ.
 320 χρήματα δ' οὐχ ἀρπακτά· θεόσδοτα πολλὸν
 ἀμείνω.
 εἰ γάρ τις καὶ χερσὶ βίῃ μέγαν ὄλβον ἔληται,
 ἢ ὁ γ' ἀπὸ γλώσσης ληίσσεται, οἵα τε πολλὰ
 γίνεται, εὗτ' ἀν δὴ κέρδος νόον ἔξαπατήσει
 ἀνθρώπων, Αἰδῶ δέ τ' Ἀναιδείη κατοπάζη,
 325 ρεῖα δέ μιν μαυροῦσι θεοί, μινύθουσι δὲ οἴκον

304 ὄργην Π₃₃ Cac Dac sch. in Platonem al.: ὄρμήν Cpc Dpc (m.
 1) Φ sch. in Theocritum al. : ἀλκήν φ₉φ₁₁ψ₁₅

310 deest et in Π₅Π₁₁Π₃₃ D Proclo Stobaeo: hab. C (m. rec. in
 mg.) Φ 317–18 ath. Plutarchus; 318 post 319 transp.
 Peppmüller: 317 et 319 invicem transp. Mazon

working, in his temper like stingless drones that consume the labor of the bees, eating it without working. But as for you, be glad to organize your work properly, so that your granaries will be filled with the means of life in good season. It is from working that men have many sheep and are wealthy, and if you work you will be dearer by far to immortals and to mortals: for they very much hate men who do not work.¹² Work is not a disgrace at all, but not working is a disgrace. And if you work, the man who does not work will quickly envy you when you are rich; excellence and fame attend upon riches. Whatever sort you are by fortune, working is better, if you turn your foolish spirit away from other men's possessions towards work, taking care for the means of life, as I bid you. Shame is not good at providing for a needy man—shame, which greatly harms men and also benefits them: for shame goes along with poverty, and self-confidence goes along with wealth.

(320) Property is not to be snatched: god-given is better by far. For if someone grabs great wealth with his hands by violence, or plunders it by means of his tongue, as often happens when profit deceives the mind of human beings and Shamelessness drives Shame away, then the gods easily make him obscure, and they diminish that man's house-

¹² Line 310, “you will be . . . and to mortals: for they very much hate men who do not work,” is missing in papyri, scholia, and some medieval manuscripts, and is excluded by many editors.

318 om. D, in marg. rest. m. al.

321 ὄλβον: ὄρκον Π₃₃ Byz. Etym. Genuinum A s. v. μανροῦσι

ἀνέρι τῷ, παῦρον δέ τ' ἐπὶ χρόνον ὅλβος ὀπηδεῖ.

ἴσου δ' ὃς θ' ἵκέτην ὃς τε ξεῖνον κακὸν ἔρξει,

ὅς τε κασιγνήτοιο ἔοῦ ἀνὰ δέμνια βαίνη

κρυπταδίης εὐνῆς ἀλόχου, παρακαίρια ρέζων,

330 διὰ τοιοῦτον ἀφραδίης ἀλιτήνεται ὀρφανὰ τέκνα,

ὅς τε γονῆς γέροντα κακῷ ἐπὶ γήραος οὐδῷ

νεικείη χαλεποῖσι καθαπτόμενος ἐπέεσσιν.

τῷ δ' ἥτοι Ζεὺς αὐτὸς ἀγαίεται, ἐσ δὲ τελευτὴν

ἔργων ἀντ' ἀδίκων χαλεπὴν ἐπέθηκεν ἀμοιβήν.

335 ἀλλὰ σὺ τῶν μὲν πάμπαν ἔεργ' ἀεσίφρονα θυμόν,

κὰδ δύναμιν δ' ἔρδειν ίέρ' ἀθανάτοισι θεοῖσιν

ἀγνῶς καὶ καθαρῶς, ἐπὶ δ' ἀγλαὰ μηρία καίειν.

ἄλλοτε δὲ σπονδῆσι θύεσσι τε ἰλάσκεσθαι,

ἡμὲν ὅτ' εὐνάζῃ καὶ ὅτ' ἀν φάος ίερὸν ἔλθῃ,

340 ὡς κέ τοι ἰλαον κραδίην καὶ θυμὸν ἔχωσιν,

ὅφρ' ἄλλων ὡνῆς κλῆρον, μὴ τὸν τεὸν ἄλλος.

τὸν φιλέοντ' ἐπὶ δαῖτα καλεῖν, τὸν δ' ἐχθρὸν
ἔᾶσαι·

τὸν δὲ μάλιστα καλεῖν ὅστις σέθεν ἐγγύθι ναίει·

εἰ γάρ τοι καὶ χρῆμ' ἐγχώριον ἄλλο γένηται,

345 γείτονες ἄζωστοι ἔκιον, ζώσαντο δὲ πηοί.

πῆμα κακὸς γείτων, ὅσσον τ' ἀγαθὸς μέγ' ὄνειαρ·

ἔμμορέ τοι τιμῆς, ὃς τ' ἔμμορε γείτονος ἐσθλοῦ·

οὐδ' ἀν βοῦς ἀπόλοιτ', εἰ μὴ γείτων κακὸς εἴη.

εὖ μὲν μετρεῖσθαι παρὰ γείτονος, εὖ δ' ἀποδοῦναι,

350 αὐτῷ τῷ μέτρῳ, καὶ λώιον, αἴ κε δύνηαι,

ώς ἀν χρηζῶν καὶ ἐστερον ἄρκιον εὔρησ.

μὴ κακὰ κερδαίνειν· κακὰ κέρδεα ἵσ' ἄτησιν.

hold, and wealth attends him for only a short time. It is the same if someone does evil to a suppliant or to a guest, or if he goes up to his own brother's bed, sleeping with his sister-in-law in secret, acting wrongly, or if in his folly he sins against orphaned children, or if he rebukes his aged father upon the evil threshold of old age, attacking him with grievous words: against such a man, Zeus himself is enraged, and in the end he imposes a grievous return for unjust works.

(335) But as for you, keep your foolish spirit entirely away from these things. According to your capability, make holy sacrifice to the immortal gods in a hallowed and pure manner, and burn splendid thigh-pieces on the altar; at other times, seek propitiation with libations and burnt-offerings, both when you go to bed and when the holy light returns, so that their heart and spirit will be propitious to you, so that you may barter for other people's allotment, not someone else for yours.

(342) Invite your friend to the feast, but let your enemy be; and above all call whoever lives near to you. For if something untoward happens on your estate, your neighbors come ungirt, but your in-laws gird themselves. A bad neighbor is a woe, just as much as a good one is a great boon: whoever has a share in a fine neighbor has a share in good value; not even a cow would be lost, if the neighbor were not bad. Measure out well from your neighbor, and pay him back well, with the very same measure, and better if you can, so that if you are in need again you will find him reliable later too. Do not seek profit evilly: evil profit is as

344 ἐγχώριον Etym.codd.: ἐγκώμιον Π₁₉ ΣProclus testt.

τὸν φιλέοντα φιλεῖν καὶ τῷ προσιόντι προσεῖναι,
 καὶ δόμεν ὅς κεν δῷ, καὶ μὴ δόμεν ὅς κεν μὴ δῷ·
 355 δώτη μέν τις ἔδωκεν, ἀδώτη δ' οὐ τις ἔδωκεν·
 Δῶς ἀγαθή, Ἀρπαξ δὲ κακή, θανάτοιο δότειρα.
 ὃς μὲν γάρ κεν ἀνὴρ ἐθέλων ὅ γε καὶ μέγα δώῃ,
 χαίρει τῷ δώρῳ καὶ τέρπεται ὃν κατὰ θυμόν·
 ὃς δέ κεν αὐτὸς ἔληται ἀναιδείηφι πιθήσας,
 360 καὶ τε σμικρὸν ἔόν, τό γ' ἐπάχνωσεν φίλον ἥτορ.
 οὐδὲ τό γ' εἰν οἴκῳ κατακείμενον ἀνέρα κήδει·
 365 οἴκοι βέλτερον εἶναι, ἐπεὶ βλαβερὸν τὸ θύρηφιν.
 366 ἐσθλὸν μὲν παρεόντος ἐλέσθαι, πῆμα δὲ θυμῷ
 367 χρηίζειν ἀπεόντος· ἃ σε φράζεσθαι ἄνωγα.
 368 εἰ γάρ κεν καὶ σμικρὸν ἐπὶ σμικρῷ καταθεῖο,
 369 καὶ θαμὰ τοῦτ' ἔρδοις, τάχα κεν μέγα καὶ τὸ γένοιτο.
 370 ὃς δ' ἐπ' ἔόντι φέρει, ὁ δ' ἀλέξεται αἴθοπα λιμόν·
 μεσσόθι φείδεσθαι· δειλὴ δ' ἐν πυθμένι φειδώ.
 πιστεις δ' ἄρ' ὅμως καὶ ἀπιστίαι ὥλεσαν ἄνδρας.

354–55 proscr. Plutarchus

361–363 post 367 transp. Most

363 post 360 traiec. Evelyn-White

370–72 eiecerunt aliqui, om. Π₁₁Π₃₃ (et fort. Π₁₉Π₃₈)
 CDTzetzesΦψ: novit Plutarchus sed incertum ubi (e. g. post 352):
 in textu hic habent MoschopulusTr, ante 369 ψ₁₁ (traiecit
 corrector), in marg. m. al. C⁴ω₂ω₃Νφ₃ψ₉ψ₁₃: 370 solum post 382
 φ₇φ₈ 370 Pittheo tribuit Aristoteles, Hesiodo Plutarchus

bad as calamities. Be friendly to your friend, and go visit those who visit you. And give to him who gives and do not give to him who does not give: for one gives to a giver, but no one gives to a non-giver—Give is good, Grab is bad, a giver of death. For whatever a man gives willingly, even if it is much, he rejoices in the gift and takes pleasure in his spirit; but whoever snatches, relying upon shamelessness, this congeals his own heart, even if it is little.

(364) What lies stored up in the household does not cause a man grief: it is better for things to be at home, for what is outdoors is at risk. It is fine to take from what you have, but it is woe for the spirit to have need of what you do not have. I bid you take notice of this. For if you put down even a little upon a little and do this often, then this too will quickly become a lot; whoever adds to what is already there wards off fiery famine.¹³ Take your fill when the storage-jar is just opened or nearly empty, be thrifty in the middle: thrift in the lees is worthless. Let the payment agreed for a man who is your friend be reliable; and smile upon your brother—but add a witness too: for both trust and distrust have destroyed men. Do not let an arse-fancy

¹³ Lines 361–63 discuss the accumulation of domestic stores and are out of place after 360, which concludes the advice to give to others rather than snatching from them; they fit much better after 367, and so, against all the manuscripts, I have transposed them here. The traditional order may have arisen from the similarity between *σμικρόν* in line 360 and *σμικρὸν ἐπὶ σμικρῷ* in 361.

Heliodorus Michael

372 δ' ἄρα C⁴ω₃ϕ₃ψ₉ψ₁₃, δ' ἄρα N: γάρ τοι Bentley: δή ρα
Reiz: γάρ ρα Allen

μηδὲ γυνή σε νόον πυγοστόλος ἔξαπατάτω
αίμύλα κωτίλλουσα, τεὴν διφῶσα καλιήν·
375 ὁσ δὲ γυναικὶ πέποιθε, πέποιθ' ὅ γε φιλήτησιν.
μουνογενῆς δὲ πάις εἴη πατρώιον οἶκον
φερβέμεν· ὡς γὰρ πλοῦτος ἀέξεται ἐν μεγάροισιν·
γηραιὸς δὲ θάνοι ἔτερον παῖδ' ἐγκαταλείπων.
ρέῖα δέ κεν πλεόνεσσι πόροι Ζεὺς ἄσπετον ὅλβον·
380 πλείων μὲν πλεόνων μελέτη, μείζων δ' ἐπιθήκη.

σοὶ δ' εὶ πλούτον θυμὸς ἔέλδεται ἐν φρεσὶν ἥσιν,
ἄδ' ἔρδειν, καὶ ἔργον ἐπ' ἔργῳ ἔργαζεσθαι.

Πληιάδων Ἀτλαγενέων ἐπιτελλομενάων
ἄρχεσθ' ἀμήτου, ἀρότοιο δὲ δυσομενάων·
385 αἱ δή τοι νύκτας τε καὶ ἥματα τεσσαράκοντα
κεκρύφαται, αὐτὶς δὲ περιπλομένου ἐνιαυτοῦ
φαίνονται τὰ πρῶτα χαρασσομένοιο σιδήρου.
οῦτός τοι πεδίων πέλεται νόμος, οἵ τε θαλάσσης
ἐγγύθι ναιετάουσ' οἵ τ' ἄγκεα βησσήεντα
390 πόντου κυμαίνοντος ἀπόπροθι, πίονα χῶρον,
ναίουσιν· γυμνὸν σπείρειν, γυμνὸν δὲ βοωτεῖν,
γυμνὸν δ' ἀμάειν, εἴ χ' ὥρια πάντ' ἐθέλησθα
ἔργα κομίζεσθαι Δημήτερος, ὡς τοι ἔκαστα
ὥρι' ἀέξηται, μή πως τὰ μέταζε χατίζων
395 πτώσσης ἀλλοτρίους οἴκους καὶ μηδὲν ἀνύσσεις-
ώς καὶ νῦν ἐπ' ἔμ' ἥλθες· ἐγὼ δέ τοι οὐκ ἐπιδώσω

woman deceive your mind by guilefully cajoling you while she pokes into your granary: whoever trusts a woman, trusts swindlers. Let there be a single-born son to nourish the father's household: in this way wealth is increased in the halls; and may he die an old man, leaving behind one son in his turn. And yet Zeus could easily bestow immense wealth upon more people: more hands, more work, and the surplus is bigger.

(381) If the spirit in your breast longs for wealth, then act in this way, and work at work upon work.

(383) When the Atlas-born Pleiades rise,¹⁴ start the harvest—the plowing, when they set.¹⁵ They are concealed for forty nights and days,¹⁶ but when the year has revolved they appear once more, when the iron is being sharpened. This is the rule for the plains, and for those who dwell near the sea and those far from the swelling sea in the valleys and glens, fertile land: sow naked, and plow naked, and harvest naked, if you want to bring in all of Demeter's works in due season, so that each crop may grow for you in its season, lest being in need later you go as a beggar to other people's houses and achieve nothing—just as now you have come to me. But I shall not give you anything

¹⁴ In the first half of May.

¹⁵ In late October or early November.

¹⁶ From the end of March until the beginning of May.

375 et Π₁₉: damn. Plutarchus

378 ath. Σ (habent Π₁₁ Π₁₉ Π₃₃) θάνοι Π₁₉ Hermann: θάνοις
codd. Σ^{vet} Proclus

οὐδ' ἐπιμετρήσω· ἔργαζεο, νήπιε Πέρση,
 ἔργα, τά τ' ἀνθρώποισι θεοὶ διετεκμήραντο,
 μή ποτε σὺν παίδεσσι γυναικί τε θυμὸν ἀχεύων
 400 ζητεύης βίοτον κατὰ γείτονας, οἵ δ' ἀμελῶσιν.
 δὶς μὲν γὰρ καὶ τρὶς τάχα τεύξεαι· ἦν δ' ἔτι λυπῆς,
 χρῆμα μὲν οὐ πρήξεις, σὺ δ' ἐτώσια πόλλα'
 ἀγορεύσεις,
 ἀχρεῖος δ' ἔσται ἐπέων νομός. ἀλλά σ' ἄνωγα
 φράζεσθαι χρειῶν τε λύσιν λιμοῦ τ' ἀλεωρήν.
 405 οἶκον μὲν πρώτιστα γυναικά τε βοῦν τ' ἀροτῆρα,
 κτητήν, οὐ γαμετήν, ἥτις καὶ βουσὶν ἔποιτο.
 χρήματα δ' εἰν οἴκῳ πάντ' ἄρμενα ποιήσασθαι,
 μὴ σὺ μὲν αἰτήσῃς ἄλλον, ὁ δ' ἀρνήται, σὺ δὲ τητᾶ,
 ἥ δ' ὥρη παραμείβηται, μινύθη δέ τοι ἔργον.
 410 μηδ' ἀναβάλλεσθαι ἔσ τ' αὔριον ἔσ τε ἔνηφιν·
 οὐ γὰρ ἐτωσιοεργὸς ἀνὴρ πίμπλησι καλιὴν
 οὐδ' ἀναβαλλόμενος· μελέτη δέ τοι ἔργον ὄφέλλει·
 αἰεὶ δ' ἀμβολιεργὸς ἀνὴρ ἄτησι παλαίει.
 ἥμος δὴ λήγει μένος ὀξέος ἡελίοιο
 415 καύματος εἰδαλίμου, μετοπωρινὸν ὄμβρήσαντος
 Ζηνὸς ἐρισθενέος, μετὰ δὲ τρέπεται βρότεος χρὼς
 πολλὸν ἐλαφρότερος· δὴ γὰρ τότε Σείριος ἀστὴρ
 βαιὸν ὑπὲρ κεφαλῆς κηριτρεφέων ἀνθρώπων
 ἔρχεται ἥματιος, πλεῖον δέ τε νυκτὸς ἐπαυρεῖ·
 420 τῆμος ἀδηκτοτάτη πέλεται τμηθεῖσα σιδήρῳ
 ὕλῃ, φύλλα δ' ἔραζε χέει πτόρθοιό τε λήγει·
 τῆμος ἄρ' ὑλοτομεῖν μεμνημένος, ὥριον ἔργον.
 ὅλμον μὲν τριπόδην τάμνειν, ὑπερον δὲ τρίπηχν,

extra, nor measure out extra for you. Work, foolish Perses, at the works which the gods have marked out for human beings, lest someday, sorrowing in your spirit, together with your children and your wife you seek a livelihood among your neighbors, but they pay no attention to you. For two times maybe and three times you will succeed; but if you bother them again, you will accomplish nothing but will speak a lot in vain, and the rangeland of your words will be useless. I bid you take notice of how to clear your debts and how to ward off famine: a house first of all, a woman, and an ox for plowing—the woman one you purchase, not marry, one who can follow with the oxen—and arrange everything well in the house, lest you ask someone else and he refuse and you suffer want, and the season pass by, and the fruit of your work be diminished. Do not postpone until tomorrow and the next day: for the futilely working man does not fill his granary, nor does the postponer; industry fosters work, and the work-postponing man is always wrestling with calamities.

(414) When the strength of the sharp sun ceases from its sweaty heat, as mighty Zeus sends the autumn rain, and a mortal's skin changes with great relief—for that is when the star Sirius goes during the day only briefly above the heads of death-nurtured human beings and takes a greater share of the night—at that time,¹⁷ wood that is cut with the iron is least bitten by worms, and its leaves fall to the ground and it ceases putting forth shoots. So at that time be mindful and cut wood, a seasonable work: cut a mortar three feet long, and a pestle three cubits long,¹⁸ and an axle

¹⁷ In late September and early October.

¹⁸ About four and a half feet.

ἄξονα δ' ἐπταπόδην· μάλα γάρ νύ τοι ἄρμενον οὔτω·
 425 εἰ δέ κεν ὀκταπόδην, ἀπὸ καὶ σφῦράν κε τάμοιο.
 τρισπίθαμον δ' ἄψιν τάμνειν δεκαδώρῳ ἀμάξῃ.
 πόλλ' ἐπικαμπύλα κᾶλα· φέρειν δὲ γύην ὅτ' ἀν εὔρης
 εἰς οἶκον, κατ' ὄρος διζήμενος ἦ κατ' ἄρουραν,
 πρύνινον· ὃς γὰρ βουσὶν ἀροῦν ὀχυρώτατός ἐστιν,
 430 εὗτ' ἀν Ἀθηναίης δμῳὸς ἐν ἐλύματι πήξας
 γόμφοισιν πελάσας προσαρήρεται ίστοβοῇ.
 δοιὰ δὲ θέσθαι ἄροτρα πονησάμενος κατὰ οἶκον,
 αὐτόγυνον καὶ πηκτόν, ἐπεὶ πολὺ λώιον οὔτω·
 εἴ χ' ἔτερον ἄξαις, ἔτερόν κ' ἐπὶ βουσὶ βάλοιο.
 435 δάφνης ἷ πτελέης ἀκιώτατοι ίστοβοήες,
 δρυὸς <δέ> ἔλυμα, πρύνου δὲ γύης. βόε δ' ἐνναετήρω
 ἄρσενε κεκτῆσθαι, τῶν γὰρ σθένος οὐκ ἀλαπαδνόν,
 ἥβης μέτρον ἔχοντε· τῷ ἐργάζεσθαι ἀρίστῳ.
 οὐκ ἀν τῷ γ' ἐρίσαντε ἐν αὐλακι κὰμ μὲν ἄροτρον
 440 ἄξειαν, τὸ δὲ ἐργον ἐτώσιον αὐθὶ λίποιεν.
 τοῖς δ' ἄμα τεσσαρακονταετής αἰζηὸς ἔποιτο,
 ἄρτον δειπνήσας τετράτρυφον ὀκτάβλωμον,
 ὃς κ' ἐργον μελετῶν ίθειάν κ' αὐλακ' ἐλαύνοι,
 μηκέτι παπταίνων μεθ' ὁμήλικας, ἀλλ' ἐπὶ ἐργῷ
 445 θυμὸν ἔχων· τοῦ δ' οὐ τι νεώτερος ἄλλος ἀμείνων
 σπέρματα δάσσασθαι καὶ ἐπισπορίην ἀλέασθαι·
 κουρότερος γὰρ ἀνὴρ μεθ' ὁμήλικας ἐπτοίηται.
 φράζεσθαι δ' εὗτ' ἀν γεράνου φωνὴν ἐπακούσεις

436 δ' addidit West

seven feet long: for this way things will fit together very well. If you cut a length eight feet long, you could cut a mallet-head from it too. Cut a three-span broad¹⁹ wheel for a ten-palm sized²⁰ cart. There are lots of bent timbers: search for one on the mountain or through the fields, and if you find one of holm-oak take it into your house as a plow-tree. For that wood stands up most strongly for plowing with oxen, when Athena's servant has drawn it near and attached it to the yoke-pole after having fastened it with pegs to the plow-stock. Toil hard to lay up a pair of plows in your house, one of a single piece and one put together, since it is much better this way: if you broke one, you could set the other one upon your oxen. Yoke-poles of laurel or of elm are the least wormy, of oak the plow-stock, of holm-oak the plow-tree. Acquire two oxen, nine years old, male, that have reached the measure of puberty, for their strength has not been drained away yet: they are best at working. They will not break the plow by contending with one another in the furrow, leaving the work futile right there. Together with these, a strong forty-year-old man should follow with the plow, after he has breakfasted on a four-piece,²¹ eight-part loaf, someone who puts care into his work and will drive a straight furrow, no longer gaping after his age-mates, but keeping his mind on his work. And another man, not a bit younger than him, is better for scattering the seeds and avoiding over-seeding: for a younger man is all aflutter for his age-mates.

(448) Take notice, when you hear the voice of the crane

¹⁹ About two feet three inches.

²⁰ About two and a half feet. ²¹ It is unclear what exactly is meant; another suggestion is "four-times kneaded."

νύψόθεν ἐκ νεφέων ἐνιαύσια κεκληγυίης,
 450 ἥ τ' ἀρότοιό τε σῆμα φέρει καὶ χείματος ὥρην
 δεικνύει ὁμβρηροῦ· κραδίην δ' ἔδακ' ἀνδρὸς ἀβούτεω·
 δὴ τότε χορτάζειν ἔλικας βόας ἔνδον ἐόντας.
 ρήγιδιον γὰρ ἔπος εἰπεῖν· “βόε δὸς καὶ ἄμαξαν”
 ρήγιδιον δ' ἀπανήνασθαι· “πάρα δ' ἔργα βόεσσιν.”
 455 φησὶ δ' ἀνὴρ φρένας ἀφνειὸς πήξασθαι ἄμαξαν·
 νήπιος, οὐδὲ τὸ οἶδ'. ἐκατὸν δέ τε δούρατ' ἀμάξης,
 τῶν πρόσθεν μελέτην ἔχέμεν οἰκήια θέσθαι.
 εὗτ' ἀν δὴ πρώτιστ' ἄροτος θητοῖσι φανήῃ,
 δὴ τότ' ἐφορμηθῆναι, ὁμῶς δμῶές τε καὶ αὐτός,
 460 αὕην καὶ διερὴν ἀρόων ἀρότοιο καθ' ὥρην,
 πρωὶ μάλα σπεύδων, ἵνα τοι πλήθωσιν ἄρουραι.
 ἔαρι πολεῖν· θέρεος δὲ νεωμένη οὐ σ' ἀπατήσειν
 νειὸν δὲ σπείρειν ἔτι κουφίζουσαν ἄρουραν.
 νειὸς ἀλεξιάρη παίδων εὐκηλήτειρα.
 465 εὔχεσθαι δὲ Διὸς χθονίῳ Δημήτερί θ' ἀγνῆ
 ἐκτελέα βρίθειν Δημήτερος ιερὸν ἀκτὴν
 ἀρχόμενος τὰ πρῶτ' ἀρότου, ὅτ' ἀν ἄκρον ἔχέτλης
 χειρὶ λαβὼν ὅρπηκι βοῶν ἐπὶ νῶτον ἵκηαι
 ἔνδρυνον ἐλκόντων μεσάβῳ. ὁ δὲ τυτθὸν ὅπισθεν
 470 δμῶδος ἔχων μακέλην πόνον ὀρνίθεσσι τιθείη
 σπέρμα κατακρύπτων· εὐθημοσύνη γὰρ ἀρίστη
 θητοῖς ἀνθρώποις, κακοθημοσύνη δὲ κακίστη.
 ὅδέ κεν ἀδροσύνη στάχνεις νεύοιεν ἔραζε,

464 ἀλεξιάρη παίδων εὐκηλ- ΣProclus Etym.codd. test.:
 ἀλεξιάρης Ἀιδωνέος κηλ- West

every year calling from above out of the clouds²²: she brings the sign for plowing and indicates the season of winter rain, and this gnaws the heart of the man without oxen. That is the time to fatten the curving-horned oxen indoors: for it is easy to say, "Give me a pair of oxen and a cart," but it is also easy to refuse, saying, "There is already work at hand for my oxen." The man who is wealthy only in his mind says that he will put together his cart—the fool, he does not know this: one hundred are the boards of a cart, take care to lay them up in your house beforehand.

(458) When the plowing-time first shows itself to mortals, set out for it, both your slaves and yourself, plowing by dry and by wet in the plowing-season, hastening very early, so that your fields will be filled. Turn the soil over in the spring; land left fallow in the summer will not disappoint you; sow the fallow land while the field is still brittle. Fallow land is an averter of death, a soother of children.

(465) Pray to Zeus of the land and to hallowed Demeter to make Demeter's holy grain ripen heavy, as you begin plowing at the very start, when you have taken the end of the plow-tail in your hand and have come down with the goad upon the oxen's backs while they draw the yoke-pole by its leather strap. Just a little behind, let another man, a slave holding a mattock, make toil for the birds by covering up the seed: for good management is the best for mortal human beings, bad management the worst. In this way the ears of corn will bend towards the ground in their ripeness,

²² In late October or early November.

εὶ τέλος αὐτὸς ὅπισθεν Ὄλύμπιος ἐσθλὸν ὄπαζοι,
 475 ἐκ δ’ ἀγγέων ἐλάσειας ἀράχνια· καὶ σε ἔολπα
 γηθήσειν βιότου αἱρεόμενον ἔνδον ἔόντος·
 εὐοχθέων δ’ ἵξει πολιὸν ἔαρ, οὐδὲ πρὸς ἄλλους
 αὐγάσεαι, σέο δ’ ἄλλος ἀνὴρ κεχρημένος ἔσται.
 εὶ δέ κεν ἡελίοιο τροπῆς ἀρόως χθόνα δῖαν,
 480 ἥμενος ἀμήσεις, ὀλίγον περὶ χειρὸς ἔέργων,
 ἀντία δεσμεύων, κεκονιμένος, οὐ μάλα χαίρων,
 οἴσεις δ’ ἐν φορμῷ παῦροι δέ σε θηήσονται.
 ἄλλοτε δ’ ἄλλοιος Ζηνὸς νόος αἰγιόχοιο,
 ἀργαλέος δ’ ἄνδρεσσι καταθυητοῖσι νοῆσαι.
 485 εὶ δέ κεν ὅψ’ ἀρόσεις, τόδε κέν τοι φάρμακον εἴη·
 ἥμος κόκκυξ κοκκύζει δρυὸς ἐν πετάλοισιν
 τὸ πρῶτον, τέρπει δὲ βροτοὺς ἐπ’ ἀπείρονα γαῖαν,
 τῆμος Ζεὺς ὕοι τρίτῳ ἥματι μηδ’ ἀπολήγοι,
 μήτ’ ἄρ’ ὑπερβάλλων βοὸς ὄπλὴν μήτ’ ἀπολείπων·
 490 οὕτω κ’ ὄψαρότης πρωτηρότῃ ἴσοφαρίζοι.
 ἐν θυμῷ δ’ εὖ πάντα φυλάσσεο, μηδέ σε λήθοι
 μήτ’ ἔαρ γινόμενον πολιὸν μήθ’ ὄριος ὅμβρος.
 πὰρ δ’ ἵθι χάλκειον θῶκον καὶ ἐπαλέα λέσχην
 ὥρῃ χειμερίῃ, ὅπότε κρύος ἀνέρας ἔργων
 495 ἴσχάνει· ἔνθά κ’ ἄοκνος ἀνὴρ μέγα οἶκον ὀφέλλοι·
 μή σε κακοῦ χειμῶνος ἀμηχανίη καταμάρψει
 σὺν Πενίῃ, λεπτῇ δὲ παχὺν πόδα χειρὶ πιέζῃς.
 πολλὰ δ’ ἀεργὸς ἀνὴρ, κενεὴν ἐπὶ ἐλπίδα μίμνων,

490 πρωτη- Kirchhoff: προηρότῃ C, (η in ras.) D: -αρηρότῃ
 (-τι) Φ: -αρότῃ Proclus ut vid.: πρωτηρότῃ Byz. (S) Ammonius

WORKS AND DAYS

if afterwards the Olympian himself grants them a fine result; you will drive the spider-webs away from the storage-vessels, and I anticipate that you will rejoice as you draw on the means of life that are indoors. You will arrive at bright spring in good shape and will not gape at other people; but some other man will stand in need of you.

(479) If you plow the divine earth first at the winter solstice,²³ you will harvest sitting down, covered in dust, grasping only a little with your hand and tying it together in opposite directions, not at all pleased, and you will carry it off in a basket; few will admire you. But the mind of aegis-holding Zeus is different at different times, and it is difficult for mortal men to know it. If you do plow late, this will be a remedy for you: when the cuckoo in the leaves of the oak tree first calls and gives pleasure to mortals on the boundless earth,²⁴ if at that time Zeus rains for three days without ceasing, neither exceeding the hoof-print of an ox nor falling short of it—in this way the late plower will vie with the early plower. Bear everything well in mind: mark well the bright spring when it comes, and the rain in good season.

(493) Pass by the bronze-worker's bench and his warm lounge in the wintry season, when the cold holds men back from fieldwork but an unhesitating man could greatly foster his household—lest a bad, intractable winter catch you up together with Poverty, and you rub a swollen foot with a skinny hand.²⁵ A man who does not work, waiting upon an

²³ About 20 December.

²⁴ In March.

²⁵ Symptoms of malnutrition.

χρηζων βιότοιο, κακὰ προσελέξατο θυμῷ.

500 ἐλπὶς δὲ οὐκ ἀγαθὴ κεχρημένον ἄνδρα κομίζειν,
ἥμενον ἐν λέσχῃ, τῷ μὴ βίος ἄρκιος εἴη.
δείκνυε δὲ δμώεσσι θέρεος ἔτι μέσσου ἔόντος·
“οὐκ αἰὲν θέρος ἐστεῖται· ποιεῖσθε καλιάς.”

μῆνα δὲ Ληναιῶνα, κάκ’ ἥματα, βουδόρα πάντα,
505 τοῦτον ἀλεύασθαι, καὶ πηγάδας, αἴ τ’ ἐπὶ γαῖαν
πνεύσαντος Βορέαο δυσηλεγέες τελέθουσιν,
ὅς τε διὰ Θρήκης ἵπποτρόφου εὐρέι πόντῳ
ἐμπνεύσας ὥρινε· μέμυκε δὲ γαῖα καὶ ὕλη·
πολλὰς δὲ δρῦς ὑψικόμους ἐλάτας τε παχείας
510 οὔρεος ἐν βήσσης πιλνᾶ χθονὶ πουλυβοτείρῃ
ἐμπίπτων, καὶ πᾶσα βοῶ τότε νήριτος ὕλη·
θῆρες δὲ φρίστουσ’, οὐρὰς δὲ ὑπὸ μέζε’ ἔθεντο,
τῶν καὶ λάχνη δέρμα κατάσκιον· ἀλλά νυ καὶ τῶν
ψυχρὸς ἐὼν διάησι δασυστέρνων περ ἔόντων.
515 καί τε διὰ ρίνοῦ βοὸς ἔρχεται οὐδέ μιν ἵσχει,
καί τε δι’ αἶγα ἄησι τανύτριχα· πώεα δὲ οὐ τι,
οὔνεκ’ ἐπηεταναὶ τρίχες αὐτῶν, οὐ διάησιν
ἴσι ἀνέμου Βορέω· τροχαλὸν δὲ γέροντα τίθησιν
καὶ διὰ παρθενικῆς ἀπαλόχροος οὐ διάησιν,
520 ἥ τε δόμων ἔντοσθε φίλῃ παρὰ μητέρι μίμνει
οὐ πω ἔργ’ εἰδυῖα πολυχρύσου Ἀφροδίτης·
εὑ τε λοεσσαμένη τέρενα χρόα καὶ λίπ’ ἐλαίῳ
χρισσαμένη μυχίη καταλέξεται ἔνδοθι οἴκου,
ἥματι χειμερίῳ, δτ’ ἀνόστεος δν πόδα τένδει

523 μυχίη Φ Proclus: νυχίη CD

empty hope, in need of the means of life, says many evil things to his spirit. Hope is not good at providing for a man in need who sits in the lounge and does not have enough of the means of life. Point out to the slaves while it is still mid-summer: "It will not always be summer, make huts for yourselves."

(504) The month of Lenaion,²⁶ evil days, ox-flayers all of them—avoid it, and the frosts that are deadly upon the earth when Boreas blows, which stirs up the broad sea through horse-raising Thrace when it blows upon it, and the earth and the forest bellow. It falls upon many lofty-leaved oaks and sturdy firs in the mountain's dales and bends them down to the bounteous earth, and the whole immense forest groans aloud. The wild animals shiver and stick their tails under their genitals, even those whose skin is shadowed by fur; but, chilly as it is, it blows through them although their breasts are shaggy, and it goes through the hide of an ox, and this does not stop it, and it blows through the long-haired goat—but not at all through sheep does the force of the wind Boreas blow, for their fleece is plentiful. It makes the old man curved like a wheel, but it does not blow through the soft-skinned maiden who stays at the side of her dear mother inside the house, still ignorant of the works of golden Aphrodite; after washing her tender skin well and anointing herself richly with oil she lies down in the innermost recess inside the house—on a wintry day, when the boneless one²⁷ gnaws its foot in its

²⁶ The second half of January and the beginning of February.

²⁷ Probably the octopus is meant, but other suggestions include the cuttlefish and the snail.

525 ἔν τ' ἀπύρῳ οἴκῳ καὶ ἥθεσι λευγαλέοισιν·
οὐ γάρ οἱ ἡέλιος δείκνυ νομὸν ὄρμηθῆναι,
ἀλλ' ἐπὶ κυανέων ἀνδρῶν δῆμόν τε πόλιν τε
στρωφᾶται, βράδιον δὲ Πανελλήνεσσι φαείνει.
καὶ τότε δὴ κεραοὶ καὶ νήκεροι ὑληκοῖται
530 λυγρὸν μυλιόωντες ἀνὰ δρία βησσήεντα
φεύγουσιν, καὶ πᾶσιν ἐνὶ φρεσὶ τοῦτο μέμηλεν,
οἱ σκέπα μαιόμενοι πυκινοὺς κευθμῶνας ἔχουσιν
κὰκ γλάφυ πετρῆεν. τότε δὴ τρίποδι βροτῷ ἵσοι,
οὐ τ' ἐπὶ νῶτα ἔαγε, κάρη δ' εἰς οὐδας ὄραται
535 τῷ ἵκελοι φοιτῶσιν ἀλευόμενοι νίφα λευκήν.
καὶ τότε ἔσσασθαι ἔρυμα χροός, ὡς σε κελεύω,
χλαινάν τε μαλακὴν καὶ τερμιόεντα χιτῶνα·
στήμονι δ' ἐν παύρῳ πολλὴν κρόκα μηρύσσασθαι·
τὴν περιέσσασθαι, ἵνα τοι τρίχες ἀτρεμέωσιν
540 μηδ' ὄρθαι φρίσσωσιν ἀειρόμεναι κατὰ σῶμα.
ἀμφὶ δὲ ποσσὶ πέδιλα βοὸς ἵφι κταμένοιο
ἄρμενα δήσασθαι, πίλοις ἔντοσθε πυκάσσας·
πρωτογόνων δ' ἐρίφων, ὅπότ' ἀν κρύος ὥριον ἔλθῃ,
δέρματα συρράπτειν νεύρῳ βοός, ὅφρ' ἐπὶ νῶτῳ
545 ὑετοῦ ἀμφιβάλῃ ἀλέην· κεφαλῆφι δ' ὑπερθεν
πῖλον ἔχειν ἀσκητόν, ἵν' οὔατα μὴ καταδεύη.
ψυχρὴ γάρ τ' ἡῶς πέλεται Βορέαο πεσόντος·
ἡῶος δ' ἐπὶ γαῖαν ἀπ' οὐρανοῦ ἀστερόεντος
ἀὴρ πυροφόροις τέταται μακάρων ἐπὶ ἔργοις,

533 κὰκ West: κὰγ Wilamowitz: καὶ Proclus Etym.codd.

549 πυροφόροις ψ₁₀ (cum gl. σιτοφόροις), sc. Hermann:

WORKS AND DAYS

fireless house and dismal abodes, for the sun does not show it a rangeland towards which it can set out but instead roams to the dark men's people and city,²⁸ and shines more tardily for all the Greeks. And that is when the forest dwellers, horned and hornless alike, gnash their teeth miserably and flee through the wooded thickets, caring in their spirit only for searching for shelter and finding sturdy hiding-places down in the hollow of a stone; that is when they avoid the white snow and stalk about like a three-footed mortal²⁹ whose back is broken and whose head looks down to the ground.

(536) And that is when you should put on a defense for your skin, as I bid you: a soft cloak and a tunic that reaches your feet. Wind plenty of woof on a puny warp: put this around you, so that your hairs do not tremble nor stand up straight shivering along your body. Bind around your feet well-fitting boots from the leather of a slaughtered ox, padded inside with felt; when the seasonable cold comes, stitch the skins of newly born kids together with the sinew of an ox, so that you can put it around your back as protection against the rain; wear a well-made felt cap upon your head, so that you do not get your ears wet. For the dawn is chilly when Boreas comes down, and a dawn mist is stretched out upon the earth from the starry sky onto the wheat-bearing works of the blessed ones—a mist which is

²⁸ According to the early Greeks, the sun spent more time in Africa in the winter.

²⁹ An old man, walking with a stick.

πυροφόρος Π₅Σ Proclus codd., *πυρφόρος* testt.: ὄμβροφόρος
ci. Seleucus

550 ὅς τε ἀρυστάμενος ποταμῶν ἀπὸ αἰεναόντων,
 ὑψοῦ ὑπὲρ γαίης ἀρθεὶς ἀνέμοιο θυέλλῃ
 ἄλλοτε μέν θ' ὕει ποτὶ ἔσπερον, ἄλλοτ' ἄησιν
 πυκνὰ Θρηικίου Βορέω νέφεα κλονέοντος.
 τὸν φθάμενος ἔργον τελέσας οἰκόνδε νέεσθαι,
 555 μή ποτέ σ' οὐρανόθεν σκοτόεν νέφος ἀμφικαλύψει.
 χρῶτα δὲ μυδαλέον θήῃ κατά θ' εῖματα δεύσει·
 ἄλλ' ὑπαλεύασθαι· μεὶς γὰρ χαλεπώτατος οὗτος
 χειμέριος, χαλεπὸς προβάτοις, χαλεπὸς δ'
 ἀνθρώποις.

τῆμος τῶμισυ βούσ', ἐπὶ δ' ἀνέρι τὸ πλέον εἴη
 560 ἄρμαλιῆς· μακραὶ γὰρ ἐπίρροθοι εὐφρόναι εἰσίν.
 ταῦτα φυλασσόμενος τετελεσμένον εἰς ἐνιαυτὸν
 ἴσοῦσθαι νύκτας τε καὶ ἥματα, εἰς ὅ κεν αὗτις
 Γῆ πάντων μήτηρ καρπὸν σύμμικτον ἐνείκη.
 εὗτ' ἀν δ' ἔξήκοντα μετὰ τροπὰς ἡελίοιο
 565 χειμέρι ἐκτελέσει Ζεὺς ἥματα, δή ρα τότ' ἀστὴρ
 Ἀρκτοῦρος προλιπὼν ἱερὸν ρόον Ὁκεανοῦ
 πρῶτον παμφαίνων ἐπιτέλλεται ἀκροκνέφαιος·
 τὸν δὲ μέτ' ὁρθογόη Πανδιονὶς ὥρτο χελιδὼν
 ἐσ φάος ἀνθρώποις, ἔαρος νέον ἴσταμένοιο.
 570 τὴν φθάμενος οἴνας περιταμνέμεν· ὡς γὰρ ἄμεινον.
 ἄλλ' ὁπότ' ἀν φερέοικος ἀπὸ χθονὸς ἀμ φυτὰ
 βαίνη

Πληιάδας φεύγων, τότε δὴ σκάφος οὐκέτι οἰνέων,
 ἄλλ' ἄρπας τε χαρασσέμεναι καὶ δμῶας ἐγείρειν.
 φεύγειν δὲ σκιεροὺς θώκους καὶ ἐπ' ἡῶ κοῖτον

drawn up from ever-flowing rivers and is raised up on high above the earth by a blast of wind; and sometimes it rains towards evening, at other times it blows, when Thracian Boreas drives thick clouds in rout. Forestall him, finish your work and get home ahead of him, lest a shadowy cloud from heaven cover you round, and make your skin wet and drench your clothes. Avoid this: for this is the most difficult month, wintry, difficult for livestock, and difficult for human beings. At this time give half the usual rations to the oxen, but more³⁰ to a man: for the long nights are a help. Bear these things in mind and balance the nights and days³¹ until the end of the year, when Earth, mother of all, brings forth her various fruit once again.

(564) When Zeus has completed sixty wintry days after the solstice, the star Arcturus is first seen rising, shining brightly just at dusk, leaving behind the holy stream of Oceanus.³² After this, Pandion's daughter, the dawn-lamenting swallow, rises into the light for human beings, and the spring begins anew. Forestall her, prune the vines first: for that way it is better.

(571) But when the house-carrier³³ climbs up from the ground on the plants, fleeing the Pleiades,³⁴ there is no longer any digging for vines: sharpen the scythes and rouse your slaves. Avoid shadowy seats and sleeping until dawn

³⁰ I.e. than half his normal ration.

³¹ I.e. against each other.

³² The second half of February.

³³ The snail.

561–63 damn. Plutarchus

568 ὄρθρογ. Byz. (S) Σνετ: ὄρθρογόν codd. Proclus Hesychius al.: ὄρθροβόν quidam teste Proclo

575 ὥρη ἐν ἀμήτου, ὅτε τ' ἡέλιος χρόα κάρφει·
 τημοῦτος σπεύδειν καὶ οἴκαδε καρπὸν ἀγινεῖν
 ὅρθρου ἀνιστάμενος, ἵνα τοι βίος ἄρκιος εἴη.
 ἡώς γάρ τ' ἔργοιο τρίτην ἀπομείρεται αἰσαν·
 ἡώς τοι προφέρει μὲν ὄδον, προφέρει δὲ καὶ ἔργου,
 580 ἡώς, ἡ τε φανεῖσα πολέας ἐπέβησε κελεύθουν
 ἀνθρώπους, πολλοῖσι δ' ἐπὶ ζυγὰ βουσὶ τίθησιν.
 ἥμος δὲ σκόλυμός τ' ἀνθεῖ καὶ ἡχέτα τέττιξ
 δενδρέω ἐφεζόμενος λιγυρὴν καταχεύετ' ἀοιδὴν
 πυκνὸν ὑπὸ πτερύγων θέρεος καματώδεος ὥρη,
 585 τῆμος πιόταταί τ' αἰγες καὶ οἶνος ἄριστος,
 μαχλόταται δὲ γυναικες, ἀφαυρότατοι δέ τοι ἄνδρες
 εἰσίν, ἐπεὶ κεφαλὴν καὶ γούνατα Σείριος ἄζει,
 αὐαλέος δέ τε χρὼς ὑπὸ καύματος· ἀλλὰ τότ' ἥδη
 εἴη πετραίη τε σκιῇ καὶ Βίβλιος οἶνος
 590 μᾶζα τ' ἀμολγαίη γάλα τ' αἰγῶν σβεννυμενάων
 καὶ βοὸς ὑλοφάγοιο κρέας μή πω τετοκύίης
 πρωτογόνων τ' ἐρίφων· ἐπὶ δ' αἴθοπα πινέμεν οἶνον
 ἐν σκιῇ ἐζόμενον, κεκορημένον ἥτορ ἐδωδῆς,
 ἀντίον ἀκραέος Ζεφύρου τρέψαντα πρόσωπα·
 595 κρήνης δ' αἰενάον καὶ ἀπορρύτου, ἡ τ' ἀθόλωτος,
 τρὶς ὕδατος προχέειν, τὸ δὲ τέτρατον ιέμεν οἴνον.
 δμωσὶ δ' ἐποτρύνειν Δημήτερος ιερὸν ἀκτὴν
 δινέμεν, εὗτ' ἀν πρῶτα φανῆ σθένος Ὁρίωνος,
 χώρῳ ἐν εὐαεὶ καὶ ἐντροχάλῳ ἐν ἀλωῇ·
 600 μέτρῳ δ' εὗ κομίσασθαι ἐν ἄγγεσιν. αὐτὰρ ἐπὴν δὴ

578 ἀπαμείρ. Cac (?) Dac(?) Eustathius

in the harvest season, when the sun withers the skin: make haste at that time and carry home the crops, getting up at sunrise, so that your means of life will be sufficient. For dawn claims as its portion a third of the work, dawn gives you a head start on the road, gives you a head start on your work too—dawn, which when it shows itself sets many men on their way and puts the yoke on many oxen.

(582) When the golden thistle blooms and the chirping cicada, sitting in a tree, incessantly pours out its clear-sounding song from under its wings in the season of toilsome summer, at that time³⁵ goats are fattest, and wine is best, and women are most lascivious—and men are weakest, for Sirius parches their head and knees, and their skin is dry from the heat. At that time let there be a rock's shadow and Bibline wine,³⁶ bread made with milk, cheese from goats that are just drying up, and the meat of a forest-grazing cow that has not yet calved and of newly born kids. Drink some gleaming wine too, sitting in the shade, when you have eaten to your heart's content, with your face turned towards fresh-blowing Zephyrus; first pour three portions from the water of an ever-flowing spring, running and unmuddied, then put in a fourth part of wine.

(597) Urge your slaves to winnow Demeter's holy grain when Orion's strength first shows itself,³⁷ in a well-aired place and on a well-rolled threshing-floor. Bring it in properly, with a measure in storage-vessels. When you have laid

³⁴ In mid-May.

³⁵ In mid-July.

³⁶ A celebrated Thracian wine.

³⁷ About 20 June.

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 τημοῦτος σπεύδειν καὶ οἴκαδε καρπὸν ἀγινεῦν
 ὅρθρου ἀνιστάμενος, ἵνα τοι βίος ἄρκιος εἴη.
 ἡώς γάρ τ' ἔργοιο τρίτην ἀπομείρεται αἰσαν·
 ἡώς τοι προφέρει μὲν ὄδον, προφέρει δὲ καὶ ἔργου,
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 μαχλόταται δὲ γυναικες, ἀφαυρότατοι δέ τοι ἀνδρες
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 ἐν σκιῇ ἐζόμενον, κεκορημένον ἥτορ ἐδωδῆς,
 ἀντίον ἀκραέος Ζεφύρου τρέψαντα πρόσωπα·
 595 κρήνης δ' αἰενάον καὶ ἀπορρύτου, ἦ τ' ἀθόλωτος,
 τρὶς ὕδατος προχέειν, τὸ δὲ τέτρατον ιέμεν οἴνου.
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 δινέμεν, εὗτ' ἀν πρῶτα φανῆ σθένος Ὁρίωνος,
 χώρῳ ἐν εὐαεῖ καὶ ἐντροχάλῳ ἐν ἀλωῇ·
 600 μέτρῳ δ' εὐ κομίσασθαι ἐν ἄγγεσιν. αὐτὰρ ἐπὴν δὴ

578 ἀπαμείρ. Cac (?) Dac(?) Eustathius

in the harvest season, when the sun withers the skin: make haste at that time and carry home the crops, getting up at sunrise, so that your means of life will be sufficient. For dawn claims as its portion a third of the work, dawn gives you a head start on the road, gives you a head start on your work too—dawn, which when it shows itself sets many men on their way and puts the yoke on many oxen.

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(597) Urge your slaves to winnow Demeter's holy grain when Orion's strength first shows itself,³⁷ in a well-aired place and on a well-rolled threshing-floor. Bring it in properly, with a measure in storage-vessels. When you have laid

³⁴ In mid-May.

³⁵ In mid-July.

³⁶ A celebrated Thracian wine.

³⁷ About 20 June.

πάντα βίον κατάθηαι ἐπάρμενον ἔνδοθι οἴκου,
 θῆτά τ' ἄοικον ποιεῖσθαι καὶ ἄτεκνον ἔριθον
 δίζησθαι κέλομαι· χαλεπὴ δ' ὑπόπορτις ἔριθος·
 605 καὶ κύνα καρχαρόδοντα κομεῖν—μὴ φείδεο σίτου—
 μή ποτέ σ' ἡμερόκοιτος ἀνὴρ ἀπὸ χρήμαθ' ἔληται.
 χόρτον δ' ἐσκομίσαι καὶ συρφετόν, ὅφρα τοι εἴη
 βουσὶ καὶ ἡμιόνοισιν ἐπηετανόν. αὐτὰρ ἐπειτα
 δμῶας ἀναψυξαι φίλα γούνατα καὶ βόε λῦσαι.

εὗτ' ἀν δ' Ὁρίων καὶ Σείριος ἐς μέσον ἔλθῃ
 610 οὐρανόν, Ἀρκτοῦρον δ' ἐσίδη ρόδοδάκτυλος Ἡώς,
 ὡς Πέρση, τότε πάντας ἀπόδρεπε οἴκαδε βότρυς·
 δεῖξαι δ' ἡελίῳ δέκα τ' ἥματα καὶ δέκα νύκτας,
 πέντε δὲ συσκιάσαι, ἔκτῳ δ' εἰς ἄγγε' ἀφύσσαι
 δῶρα Διωνύσου πολυγηθέος. αὐτὰρ ἐπὴν δὴ
 615 Πληιάδες θ' Τάδες τε τό τε σθένος Ὁρίωνος
 δύνωσιν, τότ' ἐπειτ' ἀρότου μεμνημένος εἶναι
 ὡραίου· πλειὰν δὲ κατὰ χθονὸς ἄρμενος εἴη.

εἰ δέ σε ναυτιλίης δυσπεμφέλου ἴμερος αἴρει·
 εὗτ' ἀν Πληιάδες σθένος ὅβριμον Ὁρίωνος
 620 φεύγουσαι πίπτωσιν ἐς ἡεροειδέα πόντον,
 δὴ τότε παντοίων ἀνέμων θνίουσιν ἀῆται·
 καὶ τότε μηκέτι νῆας ἔχειν ἐνὶ οἴνοπι πόντῳ,
 γῆν δ' ἐργάζεσθαι μεμνημένος ὡς σε κελεύω.
 νῆα δ' ἐπ' ἡπείρου ἐρύσαι πυκάσαι τε λίθοισιν
 625 πάντοθεν, ὅφρ' ἵσχωσ' ἀνέμων μένος ὑγρὸν ἀέντων,

622 νῆα Solmsen

up all the means of life well prepared inside your house, then I bid you turn your hired man out of your house and look for a serving-girl without her own child; for a serving-girl with a baby under her flank is a difficult thing. And get a jagged-toothed dog—do not be sparing with its food, lest some day-sleeping man³⁸ steal your things from you. Bring in fodder and sweepings, so that there is plenty for the oxen and mules. Then let the slaves relax their knees, and unyoke the pair of oxen.

(609) When Orion and Sirius come into the middle of the sky, and rosy-fingered Dawn sees Arcturus,³⁹ then, Perses, pluck off all the grapes and take them home. Set them out in the sun for ten days and ten nights, then cover them up in the shade for five, and on the sixth draw out the gift of much-cheering Dionysus into storage-vessels. When the Pleiades and Hyades and the strength of Orion set,⁴⁰ that is the time to be mindful of plowing in good season. May the whole year be well-fitting in the earth.

(618) But if desire for storm-tossed seafaring seize you: when the Pleiades, fleeing Orion's mighty strength, fall into the murky sea, at that time⁴¹ blasts of all sorts of winds rage; do not keep your boat any longer in the wine-dark sea at that time, but work the earth, mindful, as I bid you. Draw up your boat onto the land and prop it up with stones, surrounding it on all sides, so that they can resist the strength of the winds that blow moist, and draw out the

³⁸ A thief.

³⁹ In mid-September.

⁴⁰ In October.

⁴¹ In November.

χείμαρον ἔξερύσας, ἵνα μὴ πύθη Διὸς ὅμβρος.
 ὅπλα δ' ἐπάρμενα πάντα τεῷ ἐγκάτθεο οἴκῳ,
 εὐκόσμως στολίσας νηὸς πτερὰ ποντοπόροιο·
 πηδάλιον δ' εὐεργὲς ὑπὲρ καπνοῦ κρεμάσασθαι·
 630 αὐτὸς δ' ὡραῖον μίμνειν πλόον, εἰς δὲ κεν ἔλθῃ·
 καὶ τότε νῆα θοὴν ἄλαδ' ἐλκέμεν, ἐν δέ τε φόρτον
 ἄρμενον ἐντύνασθαι, ἵν' οἴκαδε κέρδος ἄρηαι·
 ὡς περ ἐμός τε πατὴρ καὶ σὸς μέγα νήπιε Πέρση
 πλωίζεσκ' ἐν νηυσὶ βίου κεχρημένος ἐσθλοῦ.
 635 ὅς ποτε καὶ τύιδ' ἥλθε πολὺν διὰ πόντον ἀνύσσας
 Κύμην Αἰολίδα προλιπὼν ἐν νηὶ μελαίνῃ,
 οὐκ ἄφενος φεύγων οὐδὲ πλοῦτόν τε καὶ ὅλβον,
 ἀλλὰ κακὴν πενίην, τὴν Ζεὺς ἄνδρεσσι δίδωσιν·
 νάσσατο δ' ἄγχ' Ἐλικῶνος ὁἰζυρῆ ἐνὶ κώμῃ,
 640 "Ασκρη, χεῖμα κακῆ, θέρει ἀργαλέη, οὐδέ ποτ'
 ἐσθλῆ.
 τύνη δ', ὡς Πέρση, ἔργων μεμνημένος εἶναι
 ὡραίων πάντων, περὶ ναυτιλίης δὲ μάλιστα.
 νῆ δὲ λίγην αἰνεῖν, μεγάλῃ δὲ ἐνὶ φορτία θέσθαι·
 μείζων μὲν φόρτος, μεῖζον δὲ ἐπὶ κέρδει κέρδος
 645 ἐσσεται, εἴ κ' ἄνεμοί γε κακὰς ἀπέχωσιν ἀήτας.

εὗτ' ἀν ἐπ' ἐμπορίην τρέψας ἀεσίφρονα θυμὸν
 βούληαι χρέα τε προφυγεῖν καὶ λιμὸν ἀτερπέα,
 δείξω δή τοι μέτρα πολυφλοίσβοιο θαλάσσης,
 οὔτε τι ναυτιλίης σεσοφισμένος οὔτε τι νηῶν·
 650 οὐ γάρ πώ ποτε νηί γ' ἐπέπλων εὐρέα πόντον,
 εἰ μὴ ἐς Εὐβοιαν ἔξ Αὐλίδος, ἢ ποτ' Ἀχαιοὶ

bilge-plug, so that Zeus' rain does not rot it. Lay up all the gear well prepared in your house after you have folded the sea-crossing boat's wings in good order; and hang up the well-worked rudder above the smoke. You yourself wait until the sailing season arrives, and then drag your swift boat down to the sea, arrange the cargo in it and get it ready so that you can bring the profit home, just as my father and yours, Perses, you great fool, used to sail in boats, deprived as he was of a fine means of life. Once he came here too, after he had crossed over a big sea, leaving behind Aeolian Cyme in a black boat, fleeing not wealth nor riches nor prosperity, but evil poverty, which Zeus gives to men. And he settled near Helicon in a wretched village, Ascra, evil in winter, distressful in summer, not ever fine.

(641) As for you, Perses, be mindful of all kinds of work in good season, but above all regarding seafaring. Praise a small boat, but place your load in a big one: for the cargo will be bigger, and your profit will be bigger, profit on profit—if the winds hold back their evil blasts.

(646) If you turn your foolish spirit to commerce and decide to flee debts and joyless hunger, I shall show you the measures of the much-roaring sea, I who have no expertise at all in either seafaring or boats. For never yet did I sail the broad sea in a boat, except to Euboea from Aulis,

632 ἄγηαι Peppmüller

649 σημειοῦται Σvet

650–62 proscr. Plutarchus, 651–60 alii

μείναντες χειμῶνα πολὺν σὺν λαὸν ἄγειραν

Ἐλλάδος ἐξ ἵερῆς Τροίην ἐς καλλιγύναικα.

ἔνθα δ' ἐγὼν ἐπ' ἄεθλα δαῖφρονος Ἀμφιδάμαντος

655 Χαλκίδα τ' εἰς ἐπέρησα· τὰ δὲ προπεφραδμένα
πολλὰ

ἄθλ' ἔθεσαν παῖδες μεγαλήτορος· ἔνθα μέ φημι
ῦμνων νικήσαντα φέρειν τρίποδ' ὡτώεντα.

τὸν μὲν ἐγὼ Μούσης Ἐλικωνιάδεσσ' ἀνέθηκα,
ἔνθα με τὸ πρώτον λιγυρῆς ἐπέβησαν ἀοιδῆς.

660 τόσσον τοι νηῶν γε πεπείρημαι πολυγόμφων·
ἀλλὰ καὶ ὡς ἐρέω Ζηνὸς νόον αἰγιόχοιο·

Μοῦσαι γάρ μ' ἐδίδαξαν ἀθέσφατον ὕμνον ἀείδειν.
ἢματα πεντήκοντα μετὰ τροπὰς ἡελίοιο,

ἐς τέλος ἐλθόντος θέρεος, καματώδεος ὥρης,

665 ὡραῖος πέλεται θνητοῖς πλόοις· οὔτε κε νῆα
κανάξαις οὔτ' ἄνδρας ἀποφθείσειε θάλασσα,
εἰ δὴ μὴ πρόφρων γε Ποσειδάων ἐνοσίχθων
ἢ Ζεὺς ἀθανάτων βασιλεὺς ἐθέλησιν ὀλέσσαι·
ἐν τοῖς γὰρ τέλος ἐστὶν ὅμῶς ἀγαθῶν τε κακῶν τε.

670 τῆμος δ' εὐκρινέεις τ' αὐραι καὶ πόντος ἀπήμων·
εὐκηλος τότε νῆα θοὴν ἀνέμοισι πιθήσας

ἐλκέμεν ἐς πόντον φόρτον τ' ἐς πάντα τίθεσθαι.
σπεύδειν δ' ὅττι τάχιστα πάλιν οἶκόνδε νέεσθαι,

μηδὲ μένειν οἶνόν τε νέον καὶ ὀπωρινὸν ὅμβρον
675 καὶ χειμῶν' ἐπιόντα Νότοιό τε δεινὰς ἀήτας,

ὅς τ' ὥρινε θάλασσαν ὅμαρτήσας Διὸς ὅμβρῳ
πολλῷ ὀπωρινῷ, χαλεπὸν δέ τε πόντον ἐθηκεν.

ἄλλος δ' εἰαρινὸς πέλεται πλόος ἀνθρώποισιν·

where once the Achaeans, waiting through the winter, gathered together a great host to sail from holy Greece to Troy with its beautiful women. There I myself crossed over into Chalcis for the games of valorous Amphidamas—that great-hearted man's sons had announced and established many prizes—and there, I declare, I gained victory with a hymn, and carried off a tripod with handles. This I dedicated to the Heliconian Muses, where they first set me upon the path of clear-sounding song. This is as much experience of many-bolted ships as I have acquired; yet even so I shall speak forth the mind of aegis-holding Zeus, for the Muses taught me to sing an inconceivable hymn.

(663) Sailing is in good season for mortals for fifty days after the solstice,⁴² when the summer goes to its end, during the toilsome season. You will not wreck your boat then nor will the sea drown your men—so long as Poseidon, the earth-shaker, or Zeus, king of the immortals, does not wish to destroy them: for in these gods is the fulfillment, both of good and of evil alike. That is when breezes are easy to distinguish and the sea is painless: at that time entrust your swift boat confidently to the winds, drag it down to the sea and put all your cargo into it. But make haste to sail back home again as quickly as possible, and do not wait for the new wine and the autumn rain and the approaching winter and the terrible blasts of Notus, which stirs up the sea, accompanying Zeus' heavy autumn rain, and makes the sea difficult.⁴³ There is also another sailing for human beings,

⁴² From the end of June until August.

⁴³ Late September.

HESIOD

680 ἥμος δὴ τὸ πρῶτον, ὅσον τ' ἐπιβâσα κορώνη
 ἵχνος ἐποίησεν, τόσσον πέταλ' ἀνδρὶ φανήη
 ἐν κράδῃ ἀκροτάτῃ, τότε δ' ἄμβατός ἐστι θάλασσα·
 εἰαρινὸς δ' οὗτος πέλεται πλόος. οὐ μιν ἔγωγε
 αἴνημ· οὐ γὰρ ἐμῷ θυμῷ κεχαρισμένος ἐστίν·
 ἀρπακτός· χαλεπῶς κε φύγοις κακόν· ἀλλά νυ καὶ τὰ
 685 ἄνθρωποι ρέζουσιν ἀιδρίησι νόοιο·
 χρήματα γὰρ ψυχὴ πέλεται δειλοῖσι βροτοῖσιν.
 δεινὸν δ' ἐστὶ θανεῖν μετὰ κύμασιν· ἀλλά σ' ἄνωγα
 φράζεσθαι τάδε πάντα μετὰ φρεσὶν ὡς ἀγορεύω.
 μηδ' ἐν νηυσὶν ἀπαντα βίον κοίλησι τίθεσθαι,
 690 ἀλλὰ πλέω λείπειν, τὰ δὲ μείονα φορτίζεσθαι·
 δεινὸν γὰρ πόντον μετὰ κύμασι πήματι κύρσαι,
 δεινὸν δ' εἴ κ' ἐπ' ἄμαξαν ὑπέρβιον ἄχθος ἀείρας
 ἄξονα κανάξαις καὶ φορτία μαυρωθείη.

μέτρα φυλάσσεσθαι· καιρὸς δ' ἐπὶ πᾶσιν ἄριστος.
 695 ὡραῖος δὲ γυναικα τεὸν ποτὶ οἶκον ἄγεσθαι,
 μήτε τριηκόντων ἐτέων μάλα πόλλ' ἀπολείπων
 μήτ' ἐπιθεὶς μάλα πολλά· γάμος δέ τοι ὡριος οὗτος.
 ή δὲ γυνὴ τέτορ' ἡβώοι, πέμπτῳ δὲ γαμοῖτο.
 παρθενικὴν δὲ γαμεῖν, ὡς κ' ἥθεα κεδνὰ διδάξεις·
 700 τὴν δὲ μάλιστα γαμεῖν, ἥτις σέθεν ἐγγύθι ναίει,
 πάντα μάλ' ἀμφὶς ἴδων, μὴ γείτοσι χάρματα γήμης.
 οὐ μὲν γάρ τι γυναικὸς ἀνὴρ ληίζετ' ἄμεινον
 τῆς ἀγαθῆς, τῆς δ' αὐτε κακῆς οὐ ρίγιον ἄλλο,

700 om. Π₅ Stobaeus, non respic. Proclus Σ^{vet}

WORKS AND DAYS

in the spring-time: at that time⁴⁴—when a man thinks that the leaves at the top of the fig-tree are as big as the footprint a crow leaves as it goes—the sea can first be embarked upon: this is the spring-time sailing. As for me, I do not praise it, for it is not pleasing to my spirit: it is snatched, only with difficulty would you escape evil. And yet human beings do this too in the ignorance of their mind: for property is life for worthless mortals; yet it is a terrible thing to die among the waves. I bid you take notice of all these things in your spirit as I speak them out publicly: do not put all your means of life in hollow boats, but leave aside more, and load the lesser part: for it is a terrible thing to encounter grief among the waves of the sea—terrible too if by lifting an excessive weight onto your cart you wreck its axle and the load is ruined.

(694) Bear in mind measures; rightness is the best in all things. Lead a wife to your house when you are in good season, neither falling very many years short of thirty nor having added very many: this is a marriage in good season for you. The woman should have reached puberty four years earlier, and in the fifth she should marry. Marry a virgin so that you can teach her cherished usages: and above all marry one who lives near to you, after you have looked around carefully in all directions, lest your marriage cause your neighbors merriment. For a man acquires nothing better than a good wife, but nothing more chilling than a

⁴⁴ The end of April.

δειπνολόχης, ἡ τ' ἄνδρα καὶ ἴφθιμόν περ ἔόντα
 705 εῦει ἄτερ δαλοῖο καὶ ὡμῷ γήραϊ δῶκεν.

εὖ δ' ὅπιν ἀθανάτων μακάρων πεφυλαγμένος
 εἶναι.

μηδὲ κασιγνήτῳ ἵσοι ποιεῖσθαι ἔταιρον·

εὶ δέ κε ποιήσῃ, μή μιν πρότερος κακὸν ἔρξεις,

μηδὲ ψεύδεσθαι γλώσσης χάριν· εἰ δέ σέ γ' ἄρχῃ

710 ἡ τι ἔπος εἰπὼν ἀποθύμιον ἡὲ καὶ ἔρξας,

δὶς τόσα τείνυσθαι μεμνημένος· εἰ δέ κεν αὗτις

ἡγῆτ' ἐσ φιλότητα, δίκην δ' ἐθέλησι παρασχεῖν,

δέξασθαι· δειλός τοι ἀνὴρ φίλον ἄλλοτε ἄλλον

ποιεῖται· σὲ δὲ μή τι νόος κατελεγχέτω εἶδος.

715 μηδὲ πολύξεινον μηδ' ἄξεινον καλέεσθαι,

μηδὲ κακῶν ἔταρον μηδ' ἐσθλῶν νεικεστῆρα.

μηδέ ποτ' οὐλομένην πενίην θυμοφθόρον ἄνδρὶ¹
 τέτλαθ' ὄνειδίζειν, μακάρων δόσιν αἰὲν ἔόντων.

γλώσσης τοι θησαυρὸς ἐν ἀνθρώποισιν ἄριστος

720 φειδωλῆς, πλείστη δὲ χάρις κατὰ μέτρον ιούσης·

εἰ δὲ κακὸν εἴπῃς, τάχα κ' αὐτὸς μεῖζον ἀκούσαις.

μηδὲ πολυξείνον δαιτὸς δυσπέμφελος εἶναι·

ἐκ κοινοῦ πλείστη τε χάρις δαπάνη τ' ὀλιγίστη.

μηδέ ποτ' ἔξ ἡοῦς Διὸς λείβειν αἴθοπα οἶνον

725 χερσὶν ἀνίπτουσιν μηδ' ἄλλοις ἀθανάτοισιν·

οὐ γὰρ τοί γε κλύονται, ἀποπτύουσι δέ τ' ἀράς.

μηδ' ἄντ' ἡελίου τετραμμένος ὁρθὸς ὁμείχειν·

706 susp. Lehrs: post 723 transp. Steitz

WORKS AND DAYS

bad one, a dinner-ambusher, one who singes her husband without a torch, powerful though he be, and gives him over to a raw old age.

(706) Bear well in mind the retribution of the blessed immortals. Do not treat a comrade in the same way as your brother: but if you do, then do not harm him first, nor give him a lying grace with your tongue; but if he begins, telling you some word contrary to your spirit or even doing some such thing, then be mindful to pay him back twice as much. But if he is led once again towards friendship and decides to offer requital, accept it: for worthless is the man who makes now one man his friend, now another. Do not let your mind at all put to shame your outward appearance.

(715) Do not acquire the reputation of having many guests or of having none at all, neither that of being the companion of base men nor a reviler of fine ones. Do not ever dare to reproach a man with baneful, spirit-destroying poverty, the gift of the blessed ones that always are. Among men, the tongue that is the best treasure is a sparing one, and the most pleasure comes from a tongue that goes according to measure: if you say evil, soon you yourself will hear it more. And do not be storm-tossed in your mood at a dinner with many guests: when things are shared in common, the pleasure is the most and the expense is the least.

(724) And do not ever pour a libation of gleaming wine at dawn to Zeus or the other immortals with unwashed hands; for they do not listen, but spurn the prayers. And do not urinate standing up facing the sun; but be mindful to

708 ἐρξαὶ Solmsen

724-59 Hesiodo abiud. Wilamowitz, alii

αὐτὰρ ἔπει κε δύῃ, μεμνημένος, ἐς τ' ἀνιόντα,
 730 μηδ' ἀπογυμνωθείς· μακάρων τοι νύκτες ἔασιν·
 729 μήτ' ἐν ὁδῷ μήτ' ἐκτὸς ὁδοῦ προβάδην οὐρήσεις·
 731 ἔζόμενος δ' ὅ γε θεῖος ἀνήρ, πεπινυμένα εἰδώς,
 ἦ' ὅ γε πρὸς τοῖχον πελάσας εὐερκέος αὐλῆς.
 μηδ' αἰδοῖα γονῆ πεπαλαγμένος ἐνδοθι οἴκου
 ἴστιη ἐμπελαδὸν παραφαινέμεν, ἀλλ' ἀλέασθαι.
 735 μηδ' ἀπὸ δυσφήμοιο τάφου ἀπονοστήσαντα
 σπερμαίνειν γενεήν, ἀλλ' ἀθανάτων ἀπὸ δαιτός.
 757 μηδέ ποτ' ἐν προχοῆς ποταμῶν ἄλαδε προρεόντων
 758 μηδ' ἐπὶ κρηνάων οὐρεῖν, μάλα δ' ἐξαλέασθαι,
 759 μηδ' ἐναποψύχειν· τὸ γὰρ οὖ τοι λώιόν ἔστιν.
 737 μηδέ ποτ' αἰενάων ποταμῶν καλλίρροον ὕδωρ
 ποσσὶ περᾶν πρίν γ' εὐξῆς ἵδων ἐς καλὰ ρέεθρα,
 χεῖρας νιψάμενος πολυηράτῳ ὕδατι λευκῷ·
 740 ὃς ποταμὸν διαβῆ κακότητ' ἵδε χεῖρας ἄνιπτος,
 τῷ δὲ θεοὶ νεμεσῶσι καὶ ἄλγεα δῶκαν ὀπίσσω.
 μηδ' ἀπὸ πεντόζοιο θεῶν ἐν δαιτὶ θαλείῃ
 αὖν ἀπὸ χλωροῦ τάμνειν αἴθωνι σιδήρῳ.
 μηδέ ποτ' οἰνοχόην τιθέμεν κρητῆρος ὑπερθεν
 745 πινόντων· ὀλοὴ γὰρ ἐπ' αὐτῷ μοῖρα τέτυκται.
 μηδὲ δόμον ποιῶν ἀνεπίξεστον καταλείπειν,
 μή τοι ἐφεζομένη κρώξει λακέρυζα κορώνη.
 μηδ' ἀπὸ χυτροπόδων ἀνεπιρρέκτων ἀνελόντα
 ἔσθειν μηδὲ λόεσθαι, ἐπεὶ καὶ τοῖς ἔπι ποινῇ.
 750 μηδ' ἐπ' ἀκινήτοισι καθίζειν, οὐ γὰρ ἄμεινον,

729 post 730 traiecit Solmsen

757–59 damn. Plutarchus: post 756 ferunt Π₅codd., sed 758

do so after it sets, and before it rises, but even so do not completely bare yourself: for the nights belong to the blessed ones. And do not urinate while you are walking, on the road or off the road: it is crouching that the god-fearing man, who knows wisdom, does it, or after he has approached towards the wall of a well-fenced courtyard. And inside the house do not reveal your genitals besmirched with intercourse near the hearth, but avoid this. And do not sow offspring when you come home from an ill-spoken funeral, but from a dinner of the immortals. And do not ever urinate into the streams of rivers that flow down towards the sea nor onto fountains—avoid this entirely—and do not defecate into them: for that is not better. And do not cross on foot the fair-pouring water of ever-flowing rivers before you have prayed, looking into the beautiful stream, and washed your hands with lovely, clear water: whoever crosses a river, unwashed in evil and in his hands, against him the gods feel resentment, and they give him pains afterwards. And during the festival, the dinner of the gods, do not cut the dry from the living from the five-branched with the gleaming iron.⁴⁵ And do not ever put the ladle on top of the wine-bowl while people are drinking; for a baneful fate is established for this. And do not leave a house unfinished when you make it, lest a screaming crow sit upon it and croak. And do not take from undedicated cauldrons to eat or wash yourself, since upon these things too there is punishment. And do not seat a twelve-day-old

⁴⁵ Do not cut your nails.

et hic ('736 a') CDTzetzesΦψ (at non Π₅Π₃₉Proclus MoschopulusTrω₂): omnes huc transtulit West

740 ath. Aristarchus

παῖδα δυωδεκαταῖον, ὃ τ' ἀνέρ' ἀνήνορα ποιεῖ,
μηδὲ δυωδεκάμηνον· ἵσον καὶ τοῦτο τέτυκται.

μηδὲ γυναικείῳ λουτρῷ χρόα φαιδρύνεσθαι
ἀνέρα· λευγαλέη γὰρ ἐπὶ χρόνον ἔστ' ἐπὶ καὶ τῷ
ποινή. μηδ' ἵεροῖσιν ἐπ' αἰθομένοισι κυρήσας
μωμεύειν ἀῖδηλα· θεός νύ τε καὶ τὰ νεμεσσᾶ.

755 μηδὲ γάρ τε κακὴ πέλεται, κούφη μὲν ἀεῖραι
ρεῖα μάλ', ἀργαλέη δὲ φέρειν, χαλεπὴ δ' ἀποθέσθαι.
φήμη δ' οὐ τις πάμπαν ἀπόλλυται, ἥντινα πολλοὶ
λαοὶ φημίξουσι· θεός νύ τίς ἔστι καὶ αὐτή.

765 ἥματα δ' ἐκ Διόθεν πεφυλαγμένος εὖ κατὰ μοῖραν
πεφραδέμεν δμώεσσι· τριηκάδα μηνὸς ἀρίστην
ἔργα τ' ἐποπτεύειν ἥδ' ἀρμαλιὴν δατέασθαι,
εὗτ' ἀν ἀληθείην λαοὶ κρίνοντες ἄγωσιν.

αἴδε γὰρ ἡμέραι εἰσὶ Διὸς παρὰ μητιόεντος·
770 πρῶτον ἔνη τετράς τε καὶ ἑβδόμη ἵερὸν ἥμαρ·
(τῇ γὰρ Ἀπόλλωνα χρυσάορα γείνατο Λητώ)
όγδοάτη δ' ἐνάτη τε. δύω γε μὲν ἥματα μηνὸς
ἔξιχ' ἀεξομένοιο βροτήσια ἔργα πένεσθαι,
ἐνδεκάτη δὲ δυωδεκάτη τ' ἄμφω γε μὲν ἔσθλαι,
775 ἥμεν ὅις πείκειν ἥδ' εὐφρονα καρπὸν ἀμάσθαι,
ἥ δὲ δυωδεκάτη τῆς ἐνδεκάτης μέγ' ἀμείνων·
τῇ γάρ τοι νῆ μήματ' ἀερσιπότητος ἀράχνης

boy upon things that cannot be moved,⁴⁶ for that is not better—it makes a man unmanly—nor a twelve-month-old one: this too is established in the same way. And do not clean a man's skin in a woman's wash-water: for there is a dismal punishment upon this too, for a time. And do not carp destructively at burning sacrifices when you encounter them: for a god feels resentment against this too.

(760) Act this way. Avoid the wretched talk of mortals. For talk is evil: it is light to raise up quite easily, but it is difficult to bear, and hard to put down. No talk is ever entirely gotten rid of, once many people talk it up: it too is some god.

(765) Bear well in mind the days that come from Zeus and point them out according to their portion to the slaves. The thirtieth of the month is the best for watching over the works and distributing the rations: people celebrate it because they distinguish the truth. These are the days that come from counsellor Zeus: to begin with, the first, the fourth, and the seventh, a holy day (for on this last, Leto gave birth to Apollo with his golden sword), and the eighth and the ninth. Two days of the waxing month are outstanding for toiling at a mortal's works, the eleventh and the twelfth. Both of them are fine, for shearing sheep and for gathering together the gladdening corn, but the twelfth is much better than the eleventh. It is on that day that the high-flying spider spins its webs in the fullness of the day

⁴⁶ E.g., tombs.

ἡματος ἐκ πλείου, ὅτε τ' ἕδρις σωρὸν ἀμάται·
τῇ δ' ἵστον στήσαιτο γυνὴ προβάλοιτό τε ἔργον.

780 μηνὸς δ' ἵσταμένου τρεισκαιδεκάτην ἀλέασθαι
σπέρματος ἄρξασθαι· φυτὰ δ' ἐνθρέψασθαι ἀρίστη·
ἔκτη δ' ἡ μέσση μάλ' ἀσύμφορός ἐστι φυτοῖσιν,
ἀνδρογόνος δ' ἀγαθή· κούρῃ δ' οὐ σύμφορός ἐστιν,
οὗτε γενέσθαι πρῶτ' οὗτ' ἀρ γάμου ἀντιβολῆσαι.

785 οὐδὲ μὲν ἡ πρώτη ἔκτη κούρῃ γε γενέσθαι
ἄρμενος, ἀλλ' ἐρίφους τάμνειν καὶ πώεα μῆλων,
σηκόν τ' ἀμφιβαλεῖν ποιμνήιον ἥπιον ἥμαρ·
ἐσθλὴ δ' ἀνδρογόνος· φιλέοι δέ κε κέρτομα βάζειν
ψεύδεά θ' αίμυνλίους τε λόγους κρυφίους τ'
δαρισμούς.

790 μηνὸς δ' ὀγδοάτη κάπρον καὶ βοῦν ἐρίμυκον
ταμνέμεν, οὐρῆας δὲ δυωδεκάτη ταλαεργούς.
εἰκάδι δ' ἐν μεγάλῃ πλέω ἡματι ἵστορα φῶτα
γείνασθαι· μάλα γάρ τε νόον πεπυκασμένος ἐσται.
ἐσθλὴ δ' ἀνδρογόνος δεκάτη, κούρῃ δέ τε τετρὰς

795 μέσση· τῇ δέ τε μῆλα καὶ εἰλίποδας ἐλικας βοῦς
καὶ κύνα καρχαρόδοντα καὶ οὐρῆας ταλαεργοὺς
πρηγύνειν ἐπὶ χεῖρα τιθείσ. πεφύλαξο δὲ θυμῷ
τετράδ' ἀλεύασθαι φθίνοντός θ' ἵσταμένου τε
ἄλγεα θυμοβόρα· μάλα τοι τετελεσμένον ἥμαρ.

800 ἐν δὲ τετάρτῃ μηνὸς ἀγεσθ' εἰς οἶκον ἄκοιτιν,
οἰωνοὺς κρίνας οἱ ἐπ' ἔργματι τούτῳ ἄριστοι.

785 κούρῃ γε Rzach: κ]ούρῃ τε Π₅D: κούρησι CH
792–96 om. Plutarchus (homoeotel.)

WORKS AND DAYS

and the canny one⁴⁷ gathers together its heap. On that day a woman should raise her loom and set up her work.

(780) For beginning with the sowing, avoid the thirteenth day after the month begins; and yet it is the best one for getting your plants bedded in. The middle sixth day is very unfavorable for plants, but good for a man to be born; but it is not favorable for a maiden, neither to be born in the first place nor to get married. Nor is the first sixth day fitting for a maiden to be born, but it is a kind day for castrating kids and rams and for fencing in an enclosure for the flocks. And it is fine for a man to be born: such men are fond of speaking mockery and lies and guileful words and hidden whispers. On the eighth day of the month castrate a boar and a loud-bellowing bull, hard-working mules on the twelfth. On the great twentieth, in the fullness of the day, a wise man is born: his mind will be very sagacious. The tenth is fine for a man to be born, for a maiden the middle fourth: on that day place your hand upon sheep and rolling-footed curving-horned oxen and a jagged-toothed dog and hard-working mules, and tame them. Bear in mind to avoid the fourth day, both of the waning month and of the beginning one, spirit-devouring pains: this is a particularly authorized day. On the fourth day of the month lead a wife to your house, after you have distinguished the bird-omens that are the best for this kind of work. Avoid the fifth days,

⁴⁷ The ant.

796 οὐρῆας: ἡμιόνους Φ

799 αλγεα θυμοβορ[II₅, ἄλγεα θυμοβόρα Schoemann: ἄλγεα θυμοβορεῖν codd.: ἄλγε' ἀ θυμοβορεῖ (servato 798) Rzach: ἄλγεσι θυμοβορεῖν West

πέμπτας δ' ἔξαλέασθαι, ἐπεὶ χαλεπαί τε καὶ αἰναί·
ἐν πέμπτῃ γάρ φασιν Ἔρινύας ἀμφιπολεύειν
"Ορκον γεινόμενον, τὸν Ἔρις τέκε πῆμ' ἐπιόρκοις.

805 μέσση δ' ἐβδομάτη Δημήτερος ἱερὸν ἀκτὴν
εὖ μάλ' ὀπιπεύοντα ἐντροχάλῳ ἐν ἀλωῆ
βάλλειν, ὑλοτόμον τε ταμεῖν θαλαμήια δοῦρα
νήιά τε ξύλα πολλά, τά τ' ἄρμενα νηνσὶ πέλονται·
τετράδι δ' ἄρχεσθαι νῆας πήγνυνσθαι ἀραιάς.

810 εἰνὰς δ' ἡ μέσση ἐπὶ δείελα λώιον ἥμαρ·
πρωτίστη δ' εἰνὰς παναπήμων ἀνθρώποισιν·
ἐσθλὴ μὲν γάρ θ' ἡ γε φυτευέμεν ἡδὲ γενέσθαι
ἀνέρι τ' ἡδὲ γυναικί, καὶ οὐ ποτε πάγκακον ἥμαρ.
παῦροι δ' αὗτε ἵσασι τριστεινάδα μηνὸς ἀρίστην
815 ἄρξασθαί τε πίθον καὶ ἐπὶ ζυγὸν αὐχένι θεῖναι
βουνσὶ καὶ ἡμιόνοισι καὶ ἵπποις ὠκυπόδεσσι
νῆα <τε> πολυκλήιδα θοὴν εἰς οἴνοπα πόντον
εἰρύμεναι· παῦροι δέ τ' ἀληθέα κικλήσκουσιν.
τετράδι δ' οἶγε πίθον—περὶ πάντων ἱερὸν ἥμαρ—
820 μέσση. παῦροι δ' αὗτε μετεικάδα μηνὸς ἀρίστην
ἡοῦς γεινομένης· ἐπὶ δείελα δ' ἐστὶ χερείων.

αῖδε μὲν ἡμέραι εἰσὶν ἐπιχθονίοις μέγ' ὄνειαρ·
αἱ δ' ἄλλαι μετάδουποι, ἀκήριοι, οὐ τι φέρουσαι,
ἄλλος δ' ἄλλοιην αἰνεῖ, παῦροι δέ τ' ἵσασιν·
825 ἄλλοτε μητρυὶ πέλει ἡμέρη, ἄλλοτε μήτηρ
τάων. εὐδαίμων τε καὶ ὄλβιος, ὃς τάδε πάντα
εἰδὼς ἐργάζηται ἀναίτιος ἀθανάτοισιν,
ὄρνιθας κρίνων καὶ ὑπερβασίας ἀλεείνων.

815 αὐχένα codd.: corr. Hermann

WORKS AND DAYS

since they are difficult and dread: for they say that it was on the fifth that the Erinyes attended upon Oath as it was born—Oath, which Strife bore as a woe to those who break their oath.

(805) On the middle seventh day inspect Demeter's holy grain very well and winnow it on a well-rolled threshing-floor, and the woodcutter should cut boards for a bed-chamber and many planks for a boat, ones which are well fitting for boats. On the fourth begin to build narrow boats.

(810) The middle ninth is a better day towards evening, but the first ninth is entirely harmless for human beings: it is a fine day for both a man and a woman to be conceived and to be born, and never is that day entirely evil. Then again, few know that the thrice-ninth day is the best of the month for starting in on a storage-jar and for placing a yoke on the neck of oxen and mules and swift-footed horses, and for drawing a swift, many-benched boat down to the wine-dark sea—few call things truthfully. On the middle fourth, open a storage-jar—beyond all others it is a holy day. Then again, few know that the twenty-first is the best of the month at daybreak; towards evening it is worse.

(822) These days are a great boon for those on the earth. But the others are random, doomless, they bring nothing. One man praises one kind of day, another another; but few are the ones who know. One time one of these days is a mother-in-law, another time a mother. Happy and blessed is he who knows all these things and does his work without giving offense to the immortals, distinguishing the birds and avoiding trespasses.

TESTIMONIA

LIFE

BIOGRAPHIES

T1 *Suda* η 583 (II p. 592 Adler)

Ἡσίοδος, Κυμαῖος· νέος δὲ κομισθεὶς ὑπὸ τοῦ πατρὸς Δίου καὶ μητρὸς Πυκιμήδης ἐν Ἀσκρῃ τῆς Βοιωτίας. γενεαλογεῖται δὲ εἶναι τοῦ Δίου, τοῦ Ἀπελλίδος, τοῦ Μελανώπου· ὃν φασί τινες τοῦ Ὁμήρου προπάτορος εἶναι πάππον, ὡς ἀνεψιαδοῦν εἶναι Ἡσιόδου τὸν Ὁμηρον, ἐκάτερον δὲ ἀπὸ τοῦ Ἀτλαντος κατάγεσθαι. ποιήματα δὲ αὐτοῦ ταῦτα· Θεογονία, Ἔργα καὶ Ἡμέραι, Ἀσπίς, Γυναικῶν ἡρωϊνῶν κατάλογος ἐν βιβλίοις ε', Ἐπικήδειον εἰς Βάτραχόν τινα, ἐρώμενον αὐτοῦ, περὶ τῶν Ἰδαίων Δακτύλων καὶ ἄλλα πολλά. ἐτελεύτησε δὲ ἐπιξενωθεὶς παρ' Ἀντίφῳ καὶ Κτιμένῳ, οἱ

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BIOGRAPHIES

T1 The *Suda*

Hesiod: From Cyme. As a youth he was cared for by his father Dius and his mother Pycimede in Ascra in Boeotia. His genealogy: he is said to be the son of Dius, the son of Apelles, the son of Melanopus, who some say is the grandfather of the founding father Homer, so that Homer would be Hesiod's second cousin and their lines of descent would both derive from Atlas. His poems are the following: *Theogony*; *Works and Days*; *Shield*; *Catalogue of Women Heroines* in 5 books; *Dirge*, for a certain Batrachus, his beloved; *On the Idaean Dactyls*; and many others. He died while staying as a guest with Antiphus and Ctimenus: at

νύκτωρ δόξαντες ἀναιρεῖν φθορέα ἀδελφῆς αὐτῶν, ἀνεῖλον τὸν Ἡσίοδον ἄκοντες. ἦν δὲ Ὁμήρου κατά τινας πρεσβύτερος, κατὰ δὲ ἄλλους σύγχρονος· Πορφύριος (*FGrHist* 260 F 20a) καὶ ἄλλοι πλεῖστοι νεώτερον ἑκατὸν ἐνιαυτοῖς ὁρίζουσιν, ὡς λβ' μόνους ἐνιαυτοὺς συμπροτερεῖν τῆς πρώτης Ὁλυμπιάδος.

T2 Tzetzes Schol. Hes. *Op.* pp. 87–92 Colonna (A. Colonna, ed., *Hesiodi Op.*, Milano-Varese 1959)

ὅς Ἡσίοδος σὺν ἀδελφῷ Πέρσῃ παῖς ἐγεγόνει Δίου καὶ Πυκιμήδης, Κυμαίων Αἰολέων, πενήτων ἀνθρώπων, οἵ διὰ τὸ ἄπορον καὶ τὰ χρέα τὴν ἑαυτῶν πατρίδα Κύμην φυγόντες μεταναστεύουσι περὶ τὴν Ἀσκρην, χωρίον τῶν Βοιωτῶν δυσχείμερόν τε καὶ κακοθέρειον, περὶ τοὺς πρόποδας κειμένην τοῦ Ἐλικῶνος κάκει κατοικοῦσι. τοιαύτη δὲ τῶν ἀνθρώπων πενίᾳ συνεσχημένων, συνέβαινε τὸν Ἡσίοδον τοῦτον ἄρνας ἐν τῷ Ἐλικῶνι ποιμαίνειν. φασὶ δὲ ὡς ἐννέα τινὲς ἐλθοῦσαι γυναικες Μοῦσαι καὶ δρεψάμεναι κλῶνας δάφνης Ἐλικωνίτιδος αὐτὸν ἐπεσίτισαν, καὶ οὕτω σοφίας καὶ ποιητικῆς ἐμπεφόρητο. . . . συνηκμακέναι δ' αὐτὸν οἱ μὲν Ὁμήρῳ φασίν, οἱ δὲ καὶ Ὁμήρου προγενέστερον εἶναι δισχυρίζονται. καὶ οἱ μὲν προγενέστερον εἶναι Ὁμήρου τοῦτον δισχυριζόμενοι ἐν ἀρχαῖς εἶναι φασι τῆς Ἀρχίππου ἀρχῆς, Ὁμηρον δὲ ἐν τῷ τέλει—ό δ' Ἀρχιππος οὗτος νίὸς ἦν Ἀκάστου, ἄρξας Ἀθηναίων ἔτη τριάκοντα καὶ πεντε—οἱ δὲ συγχρόνους εἶναι

night they thought that they were killing the seducer of their sister, but unintentionally they killed Hesiod. According to some he was older than Homer, according to others contemporary with him; Porphyry and most others define him as being younger by a hundred years, and if so he would be earlier than the first Olympiad by only 32 years (i.e. ca. 807/6 BC).

T2 Tzetzes, Scholium on Hesiod's *Works and Days*

Hesiod, together with his brother Perses, was born as son of Dius and Pycimede, who were from Aeolian Cyme, poor people who because of their lack of resources and their debts abandoned their native Cyme and emigrated to Ascra, a little town in Boeotia, bad in winter and evil in summer, lying at the foot of Mount Helicon, and they settled there. While the human beings were afflicted by such poverty, it happened that this Hesiod was pasturing his flocks on Helicon. They say that some women, nine of them, came and plucked twigs from the Heliconian laurel and fed him with them, and in this way he took his fill of wisdom and poetry. . . . Some say that he flourished at the same time as Homer, others maintain that he was even older than Homer. And those who maintain that he was older than Homer say that he lived at the beginning of the reign of Archippus, and Homer at its end; this Archippus was the son of Acastus and ruled over the Athenians for 35 years. Those who say they were contemporaries say that they competed with one another upon the

λέγοντες ἐπὶ τῇ τελευτῇ Ἀμφιδάμαντος τοῦ βασιλέως Εὐβοίας φασὶν αὐτοὺς ἀγωνίσασθαι, καὶ νενικηκέναι Ἡσίοδον, ἀγωνοθετοῦντος καὶ κρίνοντος τὰ μέτρα Πανείδου τοῦ βασιλέως τοῦ ἀδελφοῦ Ἀμφιδάμαντος καὶ τῶν νίῶν Ἀμφιδάμαντος Γανύκτορός τε καὶ τῶν λοιπῶν. . . ἀλλὰ ταῦτα μὲν ληρήματα τῶν νεωτέρων εἰσί. . ."Ομηρος γὰρ ὁ χρυσοῦς, ὡς ἐγῶμαι, μᾶλλον δὲ ἀκριβεστάτως ἐπίσταμαι, πολύ τε παλαιότερος Ἡσιόδου ὑπῆρχε. . . ἀλλ' ἵσως ἔτερος "Ομηρος ἦν τῷ Ἡσιόδῳ ἵσοχρονος ὁ τοῦ Εὐφρονος παῖς ὁ Φωκεύς. . . τὸν παλαιὸν δὲ "Ομηρον Διονύσιος ὁ κυκλογράφος φησὶν (FGrHist 15 F 8) ἐπ' ἀμφωτέρων ὑπάρχειν τῶν Θηβαϊκῶν στρατειῶν καὶ τῆς Ἰλίου ἀλώσεως. ἐκ τούτου γοῦν λογίζομαι τοῦτον τοῦ Ἡσιόδου εἶναι τετρακοσίων ἐτῶν προγενέστερον. Ἀριστοτέλης γάρ, ἦ ὁ φιλόσοφος, μᾶλλον δὲ οἶμαι ὁ τοὺς πέπλους συντάξας, ἐν τῇ Ὀρχομενίων πολιτείᾳ (Fr. 565 Rose) Στησίχορον τὸν μελοποιὸν εἶναι φησιν νίὸν Ἡσιόδου ἐκ τῆς Κτιμένης αὐτῷ γεννηθέντα τῆς Ἀμφιφάνους καὶ Γανύκτορος ἀδελφῆς, θυγατρὸς δὲ Φηγέως. . . οἱ δὲ "Ομήρου τετρακοσίους ὑστέριζον ἔτεσι, καθά φησι καὶ Ἡρόδοτος. . . βίβλους μὲν οὗτος ἔκκαιδεκα συνεγράψατο, "Ομηρος δὲ ὁ παλαιὸς ιγ'. τελευτὴ δὲ ὁ ρῆθεὶς οὗτος Ἡσίοδος ἐν Λοκρίδι τοιουτοτρόπως. μετὰ τὴν νίκην, ἦν αὐτὸν νενικηκέναι φασὶν ἐπὶ τῇ τελευτῇ Ἀμφιδάμαντος εἰς Δελφοὺς ἐπορεύθη, καὶ ἐδόθη αὐτῷ οὗτοσὶ ὁ χρησμός.

death of King Amphidamas of Euboea and that Hesiod won at the contest established and judged by King Panedes, Amphidamas' brother, and by Amphidamas' sons, Ganyctor and the rest of them. . . . But that is all nonsense invented by more recent writers . . . For golden Homer, as I believe—no, as I know with absolute precision—was much more ancient than Hesiod . . . But perhaps there was another Homer who was contemporary with Hesiod, the Phocian, son of Euphron . . . Dionysius (i.e. of Samos), who wrote on the cycle, says that the ancient Homer lived at the same time as the Theban wars and also as the capture of Troy. For this reason I calculate that he was four hundred years earlier than Hesiod. For Aristotle the philosopher, or rather I suppose the author of the *Peploï*,¹ says in *The Constitution of Orchomenus* that the lyric poet Stesichorus was the son of Hesiod, born to him from Ctimene, the sister of Amphiphanes and Ganyctor, and the daughter of Phegeus. . . . Others say that he was later than Homer by four hundred years, as Herodotus too says.² . . . This Hesiod composed 16 books, the ancient Homer 13. Hesiod died in Locris, in the following way: after the victory which they say he won upon the death of Amphidamas, he traveled to Delphi where he received this oracle:

¹ A pseudo-Aristotelian mythographical treatise.

² But cf. T10.

οὐλβιος οὐτος ἀνὴρ ὃς ἐμὸν δόμον ἀμφιπολεύει,
 Ἡσίοδος, Μούσησι τετιμένος ἀθανάτησι
 τοῦ δή τοι κλέος ἔσται ὅσον τ' ἐπικίδναται Ἡώς.
 ἀλλὰ Διὸς πεφύλαξο Νεμείου κάλλιμον ἄλσος·
 καὶ γάρ τοι θανάτοιο τέλος πεπρωμένον ἔστιν.

οὐδὲ τὴν ἐν Πελοποννήσῳ Νεμέαν φυγὴν ἐν Οἰνόῃ τῆς
 Λοκρίδος ὑπὸ Ἀμφιφάνους καὶ Γανύκτορος, τῶν Φη-
 γέως παίδων, ἀναιρεῖται καὶ ρίπτεται εἰς τὴν θάλασ-
 σαν, ὡς φθείρας τὴν ἀδελφὴν αὐτῶν Κτιμένην, ἐξ ἣς
 ἐγεννήθη Στησίχορος· ἐκαλεῖτο δὲ Οἰνόη Διὸς Νεμεί-
 ου ἱερόν. μετὰ δὲ τρίτην ἡμέραν ὑπὸ δελφίνων πρὸς
 αἰγιαλὸν ἐξήχθη τὸ σῶμα μεταξὺ Λοκρίδος καὶ Εὐ-
 βοίας, καὶ ἔθαψαν αὐτὸν Λοκροὶ ἐν Νεμέᾳ τῆς Οἰνόης.
 οἱ δὲ φονεῖς τούτου νηὸς ἐπιβάντες ἐπειρῶντο φυγεῖν,
 χειμῶνι δὲ διεφθάρησαν. Ὁρχομένιοι δὲ ὕστερον
 κατὰ χρησμὸν ἐνεγκόντες τὰ Ἡσιόδου ὄστα θάπτουν-
 σιν ἐν μέσῃ τῇ ἀγορᾷ καὶ ἐπέγραψαν τάδε·

Ἄσκρα μὲν πατρὶς πολυλαῖος, ἀλλὰ θανόντος
 ὄστέα πληξίππου γῆ Μινύης κατέχει
 Ἡσιόδου, τοῦ πλεῖστον ἐν ἀνθρώποις κλέος
 ἔστιν,
 ἀνδρῶν κρινομένων ἐν βασάνοις σοφίης.

ἐπέγραψε δὲ καὶ Πίνδαρος·

χαῖρε δὶς ἡβήσας καὶ δὶς τάφου ἀντιβολήσας,
 Ἡσίοδ', ἀνθρώποις μέτρον ἔχων σοφίης.

TESTIMONIA

Happy this man, who is visiting my house,
Hesiod, honored by the immortal Muses;
indeed, his glory will reach as far as the dawn is
outspread.

But beware the beautiful grove of Nemean Zeus:
for there the end of death is fated for you.

So he fled from the Peloponnesian Nemea; but in Locrian Oenoe he was killed and thrown into the sea by Amphiophanes and Ganyctor, the sons of Phegeus, for having seduced their sister Ctimene, from whom Stesichorus was born. For Oenoe was called the temple of Nemean Zeus. Three days later his body was carried by dolphins to the shore between Locris and Euboea, and the Locrians buried him in Oenoan Nemea. His murderers boarded a ship and tried to flee, but they died in a storm. Later, according to an oracle, the Orchomenians transported Hesiod's bones and buried them in the middle of the market-place, and they set up the following inscription:

Ascre with its many cornfields (was) my homeland,
but now that I have died
the land of the horse-smiting Minyan holds my
bones,
Hesiod's, whose glory among human beings is the
greatest
when men are judged in the trials of wisdom.

Pindar too wrote an inscription:

Hail, you who twice were young and twice received a
tomb,
Hesiod, you who hold the measure of wisdom for
human beings.

HESIOD

DATE AND RELATION TO HOMER AND OTHER POETS

T3 Aul. Gell. 3.11.1–5

super aetate Homeri atque Hesiodi non consentitur. alii Homerum quam Hesiodum maiorem natu fuisse scripserunt, in quis Philochorus (*FGrHist* 328 F 210) et Xenophanes (11 B 13 DK), alii minorem, in quis L. Accius poeta (Fr. 1 Funaioli = p. 578 Warmington) et Ephorus (*FGrHist* 70 F 101) historiae scriptor. M. autem Varro in primo *de imaginibus* (Fr. 68 Funaioli), uter prior sit natus, parum constare dicit, sed non esse dubium, quin aliquo tempore eodem vixerint, idque ex epigrammate ostendi, quod in tripode scriptum est, qui in monte Helicone ab Hesiodo positus traditur. Accius autem in primo *didascalico* (Fr. 1 Funaioli = p. 578 Warmington) levibus admodum argumentis utitur, per quae ostendi putat Hesiodum natu priorem: “quod Homerus”, inquit, “cum in principio carminis Achillem esse filium Pelei diceret, quis esset Peleus, non addidit; quam rem procul,” inquit, “dubio dixisset, nisi ab Hesiodo iam dictum videret (*Theog.* 1006–7). de Cyclope itidem,” inquit, “vel maxime quod unoculus fuit, rem tam insignem non praeterisset, nisi aequa prioris Hesiodi carminibus involgatum esset (*Theog.* 139–46)”.

TESTIMONIA

DATE AND RELATION TO HOMER AND OTHER POETS

The Scholarly Controversy

T3 Aulus Gellius, *Attic Nights*

Regarding the age of Homer and of Hesiod there is no consensus. Some, including Philochorus and Xenophanes, have written that Homer was born before Hesiod; others, including the poet Lucius Accius and the historian Ephorus, that he was younger. But Varro says in book 1 of his *Portraits* that it is not at all certain which of the two was born first but that there can be no doubt that they were both alive at the same time for a while, and that this is demonstrated by the epigram which is engraved on a tripod which is said to have been set up on Mount Helicon by Hesiod.³ Accius, however, in book 1 of his *Didascalica* makes use of quite feeble arguments which he supposes demonstrate that Hesiod was born first. “When Homer,” he said, “stated in the beginning of his poem that Achilles was Peleus’ son, he did not add who Peleus was”; but, he (i.e. Accius) says, “without a doubt he (i.e. Homer) would have said this if he had not seen that it had already been said by Hesiod (cf. *Theogony* 1006–7). In the same way,” he (i.e. Accius) said, “concerning the Cyclops he (i.e. Homer) would certainly not have omitted to indicate so remarkable a fact as that he was one-eyed, unless in the same way it had already been made well known by the poems of his predecessor Hesiod (cf. *Theogony* 139–46).”

³ Cf. *The Contest of Homer and Hesiod* 13, pp. 340–41 West; T40.

T4 Paus. 9.30.3

περὶ δὲ Ἡσιόδου τε ἡλικίας καὶ Ὁμήρου πολυπραγμονήσαντι ἐς τὸ ἀκριβέστατον οὕτοι γράφειν ἥδη ἦν, ἐπισταμένω τὸ φιλαίτιον ἄλλων τε καὶ οὐχ ἥκιστα ὅσοι κατ’ ἐμὲ ἐπὶ ποιήσει τῶν ἐπῶν καθεστήκεσαν.

T5 Posidonius Fr. 459 Theiler (= Tzetzes, *Exeg. Il.*, p. 19.1–4 Hermann)

καὶ τοῦ Ποσειδωνίου οἷμαι μὴ ἀκηκοώς λέγοντος αὐτὸν τὸν Ἡσίοδον ὕστερον γενόμενον πολλὰ παραφθεῖραι τῶν Ὁμήρου ἐπῶν.

T6 Cic. *Cato maior de senectute* 15.54

at Homerus, qui multis ut mihi videtur ante saeculis fuit...
(= T152)

T7 Vell. Paterc. 1.7.1

huius temporis aequalis Hesiodus fuit, circa CXX annos distinctus ab Homeri aetate, vir perelegantis ingenii et mollissima dulcedine carminum memorabilis, otii quietisque cupidissimus, ut tempore tanto viro, ita operis auctoritate proximus, qui vitavit ne in id quod Homerus incideret, patriamque et parentes testatus est, sed patriam, quia multatus ab ea erat, contumeliosissime.

TESTIMONIA

T4 Pausanias, *Description of Greece*

Although I investigated the ages of Hesiod and Homer as exactly as possible, I take no pleasure in writing about this, since I know that other people are captious, especially the appointed experts on epic poetry in my time.

Cf. T1, T2

Homer Older Than Hesiod

T5 Posidonius, uncertain fragment

I believe that I have perhaps read Posidonius too saying that Hesiod himself was born much later and corrupted many of Homer's verses.

T6 Cicero, *Cato. On Old Age*

but Homer, who lived many generations, as I believe, before (scil. Hesiod) . . . (= T152)

T7 Velleius Paterculus, *Compendium of Roman History*

At this time (ca. 820 B.C.) lived Hesiod, who differed in age from Homer by about 120 years, a man of extremely refined talent and renowned for the extraordinarily gentle sweetness of his poems, greatly desirous of peace and quiet, second to such a great man (i.e. Homer) both in time and in the prestige of his work. He avoided making the same error as Homer did, and provided testimony concerning his homeland and parents—but in the case of his homeland he did so very abusively, since he had been punished by it.

T8 Plut. *Consolatio ad Apollonium* 7 p. 105d

ὅ δὲ μετὰ τοῦτον καὶ τῇ δόξῃ καὶ τῷ χρόνῳ, καίτοι τῶν
Μουσῶν ἀναγορεύων ἐαυτὸν μαθητὴν Ἡσίοδος. . .

T9 Solinus 40.17

inter quem et Hesiodum poetam, qui in auspiciis olympi-
adis primae obiit, centum triginta octo anni interfuerunt.

T10 Hdt. 2.53.2

Ἡσίοδον γὰρ καὶ Ὁμηρον ἡλικίην τετρακοσίουσι
ἔτεσι δοκέω μέο πρεσβυτέρους γενέσθαι καὶ οὐ πλέ-
οσι.

T11 Aul. Gell. 17.21.3

de Homero et Hesiodo inter omnes fere scriptores con-
stitit aetatem eos egisse vel isdem fere temporibus vel
Homerum aliquanto antiquiorem, utrumque tamen ante
Romam conditam vixisse Silviis Albae regnibus annis
post bellum Troianum, ut Cassius in primo *annalium* de
Homero atque Hesiodo scriptum reliquit (Fr. 8 Peter),
plus centum atque sexaginta, ante Romam autem condi-
tam, ut Cornelius Nepos in primo *Chronicorum* de Home-
ro dixit (Fr. 2 Peter), annis circiter centum et sexaginta.

TESTIMONIA

T8 Plutarch, *Letter of Condolence to Apollonius*

Hesiod, who comes after him (i.e. Homer) both in fame and in time, even though he proclaims himself a disciple of the Muses . . .

T9 Gaius Iulius Solinus, *Collection of Memorable Things*

Between him (i.e. Homer) and the poet Hesiod, who died at the beginning of the first Olympiad (777/76), 138 years went by.

Cf. T1, T2; and Proclus, *Chrestomathy I. Homer's Date, Life, Character, Catalogue of Poems* 6 (pp. 422–23 West), and Anonymus I, *Life of Homer* (Vita Romana) 4 (pp. 434–35 West)

Homer and Hesiod as Contemporaries

T10 Herodotus, *History*

For I believe that Hesiod and Homer were born 400 years before me (ca. 885 BC) and not more.

T11 Aulus Gellius, *Attic Nights*

Concerning Homer and Hesiod almost all authors agree that they lived more or less at the same time, or that Homer was only a little bit older, and in any case that they both lived before the foundation of Rome, while the Silvii ruled in Alba, more than 160 years after the Trojan war, as Cassius wrote about Homer and Hesiod in book 1 of his *Annals*, but about 160 years before the founding of Rome, as Cornelius Nepos says about Homer in book 1 of his *Chronicles*.

T12 Clem. Alex. *Strom.* 1.21.117.4, p. 74.5–7 Stählin

Εὐθυμένης δὲ ἐν τοῖς Χρονικοῖς (*FGrHist* 243 F 1) συνακμάσαντα (scil. "Ομηρον) Ἡσιόδω ἐπὶ Ἀκάστου ἐν Χίῳ γενέσθαι περὶ τὸ διακοσιοστὸν ἔτος ὑστερον τῆς Ἰλίου ἀλώσεως. ταύτης δέ ἐστι τῆς δόξης καὶ Ἀρχέμαχος ἐν Εὐβοϊκῶν τρίτῳ (*FGrHist* 424 F 3).

T13 Philostratus *Heroicus* 43.7, p. 56.4–6 De Lannoy

οἱ δὲ ἔξήκοντα καὶ ἑκατὸν ἔτη γεγονέναι μετὰ τὴν Τροίαν ἐπὶ "Ομηρόν τέ φασι καὶ Ἡσίοδον, ὅτε δὴ ἀσται ἄμφω ἐν Χαλκίδι.

T14 Syncellus *Chronographia*

(a) p. 202.21–22 Moshammer

Ἡσίοδός τε ἐγνωρίζετο, δν "Εφορος (*FGrHist* 70 F 101b) ἀνεψιὸν καὶ σύγχρονον Ὁμήρου φησί.

(b) p. 206.9 Moshammer

ἐπ' αὐτοῦ ὁ μέγας ποιητὴς "Ομηρος παρ' "Ελλησι καὶ Ἡσίοδος.

T15 Marmor Parium *FGrHist* 239 A ep. 28–29

28 ἀφ' οὗ [Ἡσ]ίοδος ὁ ποιητὴς [έφαν]η, ἔτη ΗΔΔ.,
βασιλεύοντος Ἀθηνῶν. . |.

TESTIMONIA

T12 Clement of Alexandria, *Miscellanies*

Euthymenes says in his *Chronicles* that he (i.e. Homer) flourished at the same time as Hesiod and was born during the reign of Acastus on Chios, about 200 years after the capture of Troy. Archemachus too is of the same opinion in book 3 of his *Euboean History*.

T13 Philostratus, *Heroicus*

Others say that 160 years went by from Troy to Homer and Hesiod, when they both sang in Chalcis.

T14 Syncellus, *Chronography*

- (a) Hesiod was becoming known, who Ephorus says was a first cousin and contemporary of Homer.
- (b) During his (i.e. David's) reign (*anno mundi* ca. 4428–68), the great poet Homer among the Greeks, and Hesiod.

Cf. T2, T65; and *The Contest of Homer and Hesiod* 5–13 (pp. 322–45 West), Proclus, *Chrestomathy I. Homer's Date, Life, Character, Catalogue of Poems* 4 (pp. 420–21 West)

Hesiod Older Than Homer

T15 The Parian Marble Inscription

28. From when the poet Hesiod appeared, 67[3?] years, when [] was king of the Athenians (937/5?).

29 ἀφ' οὗ Ὁμηρος ὁ ποιητὴς ἐφάνη, ἔτη ΗΔΔΔΔIII,
βασιλεύοντος Ἀθηνῶ[ν Δ]ιογνήτου.

T16 Gnomologium Vaticanum Graecum 1144, f. 222^v
Sternbach (L. Sternbach, “Gnomica,” in *Commentationes philologae . . . Ribbeck*, Lipsiae 1888, p. 358)

Σιμωνίδης τὸν Ἡσίοδον κηπουρὸν ἔλεγε, τὸν δὲ Ὁμηρον στεφανηπλόκον, τὸν μὲν ὡς φυτεύσαντα τὰς περὶ θεῶν καὶ ἥρωών μυθολογίας, τὸν δὲ ὡς ἐξ αὐτῶν συμπλέξαντα τὸν Ἰλιάδος καὶ Ὁδυσσείας στέφανον.

T17 Hippias 86 B 6 DK, *FGrHist* 6 F 4

τούτων ἵσως εἴρηται τὰ μὲν Ὁρφεῖ, τὰ δὲ Μουσαίων κατὰ βραχὺ ἄλλῳ ἄλλαχοῦ, τὰ δὲ Ἡσιόδῳ, τὰ δὲ Ὁμήρῳ, τὰ δὲ τοῖς ἄλλοις τῶν ποιητῶν, τὰ δὲ ἐν συγγραφαῖς, τὰ μὲν Ἑλλησι, τὰ δὲ βαρβάροις.

T18 Aristoph. *Ranae* 1030–36

σκέψαι γὰρ ἀπ' ἀρχῆς
ώς ὡφέλιμοι τῶν ποιητῶν οἱ γενναῖοι γεγένηνται.
Ὀρφεὺς μὲν γὰρ τελετάς θ' ἡμῖν κατέδειξε
φόνων τ' ἀπέχεσθαι,
Μουσαῖος δ' ἐξακέσεις τε νόσων καὶ χρησμούς,
Ἡσίοδος δὲ
γῆς ἐργασίας, καρπῶν ὕρας, ἀρότους· ὁ δὲ θεῖος
“Ομηρος

TESTIMONIA

29. From when the poet Homer appeared, 643 years, when Diogenetus was king of the Athenians (907/5).

T16 Vatican Collection of Greek Sayings

Simonides said that Hesiod was a gardener and Homer a weaver of garlands, since the former planted the mythological stories about gods and heroes, while the latter wove together the garland of the *Iliad* and *Odyssey* out of them.

Cf. T2; and *The Contest of Homer and Hesiod* 4 (pp. 322–23 West), (Pseudo-) Plutarch, *On Homer* 2 (pp. 404–7 West), Anonymus I, *Life of Homer* (Vita Romana) 4 (pp. 434–35 West)

The Sequence Orpheus-Musaeus-Hesiod-Homer

T17 Hippias of Elis, fragment

Of these things, perhaps some have been said by Orpheus, others by Musaeus, briefly, here and there, some by Hesiod, others by Homer, some by other poets, others in prose writings, some by Greeks, others by barbarians.

T18 Aristophanes, *Frogs*

For look, starting from the very beginning,
how useful the noble poets have been.

For Orpheus taught us initiatory rites and refraining
from slaughter,

Musaeus cures for illnesses and oracles, Hesiod
working the land, the seasons for harvesting and
plowing; and godly Homer,

ἀπὸ τοῦ τιμὴν καὶ κλέος ἔσχεν πλὴν τοῦδ' ὅτι
 χρήστ' ἐδίδαξεν,
 τάξεις, ἀρετάς, ὀπλίσεις ἀνδρῶν;

T19 Schol. Hes. *Op.* 271a Pertusi

ἰστέον δὲ ὅτι νιὸς Ἡσιόδου Μνασέας ἔστι. Φιλόχορος (*FGrHist* 328 F 213) δὲ Στησίχορόν φησι τὸν ἀπὸ Κλυμένης ἄλλοι δὲ Ἀρχιέπην.

T20 Cic. *De republica* 2.20 (ed. Ziegler)

Stesichor>us ne<pos ei>us, ut di<xeru>nt quid<am, e>x filia. quo <vero> ille mor<tuus, e>odem <est an>no na<tus Si>moni<des ol>ympia<de se>xta et quin<qua-g>esima.

Stesichor>us: suppl. Mommsen

T21 Cic. *Disp. Tusc.* 1.1.3

si quidem Homerus fuit et Hesiodus ante Romam conditam. . .

T22 Plin. *Hist. nat.* 14.1.3

ante milia annorum inter principia litterarum Hesiodo praecepta agricolis pandere orso. . .

TESTIMONIA

what did he receive honor and glory from, if not from
teaching us useful things,
battle orderings and the virtues and arming of men?

Cf. T116a, T119bi, bii

Hesiod as Stesichorus' Father or Grandfather

T19 Scholium on the *Works and Days*

You should know that Hesiod's son is Mnaseas. Philochorus says he was Stesichorus, and the mother was Clymene. Others say she was Archiepe.

T20 Cicero, *On the Republic*

[Stesichorus], his (i.e. Hesiod's) grandson, as some have said, from his daughter. [But] Simonides was born in the same year in which he (i.e. Stesichorus) died, in the 56th Olympiad (i.e. 556/5).

Cf. T2

Miscellaneous

T21 Cicero, *Tusculan Disputations*

if indeed Homer and Hesiod lived before the foundation of Rome . . .

T22 Pliny the Elder, *Natural History*

a thousand years ago (i.e. about 920 BC), at the very beginning of writing, Hesiod was the first to give precepts to farmers . . .

T23 Euseb. *Hier.*

(a) 119F, p. 71b.5 Helm

quidam Homerum et Hesiodum his temporibus fuisse se
aiunt.

(b) 145F, p. 84b.2 Helm

Hesiodus insignis habetur, ut vult Porphyrius (*FGrHist*
260 F 20b).

(c) 151F, p. 87b.9 Helm

Hesiodus secundum quosdam clarus habetur.

T24 Tzetzes *Chil.* 13.643–44 Leone

Ἡσίοδος δὲ ἥκμαζεν, ὡς εὑρον ἐν ἑτέροις, κατὰ τὴν
ἐνδεκάτην μὲν αὐτὴν Ὁλυμπιάδα.

BIRTH

T25 Schol. Hes. *Op.* 635a Pertusi

Ἐφορος (*FGrHist* 70 F 100) δέ φησι τοῦτον εἰς
Ἄσκρην ἐλθεῖν, οὐ δι' ἐμπορίαν, ἀλλὰ φόνον ἐμφύ-
λιον ἐργασάμενον.

TESTIMONIA

T23 Eusebius, *Chronicle of Jerome*

- (a) Some say that Homer and Hesiod lived at this time (i.e. 1017/16 BC).
- (b) Hesiod is considered renowned (i.e. 809/8 BC), according to Porphyry.
- (c) According to some, Hesiod is considered famous (i.e. 767/6 BC).

T24 Tzetzes, *Chiliads*

Hesiod flourished, as I have found in other authors (scil. other than Apollodorus), in the 11th Olympiad (736/3).

BIRTH

T25 Scholium on Hesiod's *Works and Days*

Ephorus says that he (i.e. Hesiod's father) came to Ascra not because of poverty but because he had murdered a kinsman.

HESIOD

T26 Vacca *Vita Lucani* p. 403.21–26 Badalì

eventus . . . qui in Hesiodo refertur . . . cunas infantis, quibus ferebatur, apes circumvolarunt osque insedere conplures, aut dulcem iam tum spiritum eius haurientes aut facundum et qualem nunc existimamus, futurum significantes.

NAME

T27 *Etym. Gudianum* p. 249.49 Sturz (*Etym. Magnum* p. 438.20)

‘Ησίοδος, Αἰωλικῶς, ὁ τὴν αἰσίαν ὁδὸν πορευόμενος.
Ἐργα καὶ Ἡμέρας ἔγραψε πρὸς τὴν τοῦ βίου
ἔργασίαν καὶ νομοθεσίαν. ἦ δῆτι αἰσίως ἐβάδισε.
συνέτυχε γὰρ ταῖς Μούσαις, καὶ οὐχ ὡς Θάμυρις
διετέθη. ὅθεν καὶ ποιητὴς ἄριστος.

T28 *Etym. Magnum* p. 438.24

‘Ησίοδος· παρὰ τὸν ἥσω μέλλοντα, καὶ τὸ ὁδός.

T29 Schol. Hes. *Op.* 1 p. 22.1 Gaisford

‘Ησίοδος ἐκ τοῦ ἥσις ἡ εὐφροσύνη, καὶ τοῦ εἴδω τὸ
λέγω γίνεται.

TESTIMONIA

T26 Vacca, *Life of Lucan*

An event . . . which is reported about Hesiod . . . bees swarmed around the infant's cradle, in which he was being carried about, and many came to sit upon his mouth, either drinking his breath, which was already sweet at that age, or signifying that he would be eloquent and such as we now recognize him to have been.

Cf. also *The Contest of Homer and Hesiod* 1 (pp. 318–19 West)

NAME

T27 *Etymologicum Gudianum* and *Magnum*

Hesiod: in Aeolic, he who travels on an auspicious (*aisia*) road (*hodos*). He wrote the *Works and Days* with a view towards working for the means of life and towards legislation. Or because he walked auspiciously: for he encountered the Muses, and was not treated by them as Thamyris was; for this reason he is an excellent poet.

T28 *Etymologicum Magnum*

Hesiod: from the future *hêsô* “I will cast” and the word *hodos* “road.”

T29 Scholium on Hesiod's *Works and Days*

“Hesiod” comes from *hêsis* “festivity” and *eidô* “I say.”

HESIOD

DEATH

T30 Thuc. 3.96.1

αὐλισάμενος δὲ τῷ στρατῷ ἐν τοῦ Διὸς τοῦ Νεμείου τῷ ἱερῷ, ἐν ᾧ Ἡσίοδος ὁ ποιητὴς λέγεται ὑπὸ τῶν ταύτη ἀποθανεῖν, χρησθὲν αὐτῷ ἐν Νεμέᾳ τοῦτο παθεῖν.

T31 Paus. 9.31.6

ἐναντία δὲ καὶ ἐς τοῦ Ἡσιόδου τὴν τελευτὴν ἐστιν εἰρημένα. ὅτι μὲν γὰρ οἱ παιδες τοῦ Γαινύκτορος Κτίμενος καὶ Ἀντιφος ἔφυγον ἐς Μολυκρίαν ἐκ Ναυπάκτου διὰ τοῦ Ἡσιόδου τὸν φόνον καὶ αὐτόθι ἀσεβήσασιν ἐς Ποσειδῶνα ἐγένετο τῇ Μολυκρίᾳ σφίσιν ἡ δίκη, τάδε μὲν καὶ οἱ πάντες κατὰ ταύτα εἰρήκασι· τὴν δὲ ἀδελφὴν τῶν νεανίσκων οἱ μὲν ἄλλου τοῦ φασιν αἰσχύναντος Ἡσιόδου λαβεῖν οὐκ ἀληθῆ τὴν τοῦ ἀδικήματος δόξαν, οἱ δὲ ἐκείνου γενέσθαι τὸ ἔργον.

τῇ Μολυκρίᾳ Porson: τῇ μολυκρίδι codd.

T32 Plut. *Sept. sap. conv.* 19 p. 162c-e

Μιλησίου γάρ, ὡς ἔοικεν, ἀνδρός, ὃ ξενίας ἐκοινώνει ὁ Ἡσίοδος καὶ διαίτης ἐν Λοκροῖς, τῇ τοῦ ξένου θυγατρὶ κρύφα συγγενομένου καὶ φωραθέντος ὑποφίαν ἔσχεν ὡς γνοὺς ἀπ' ἀρχῆς καὶ συνεπικρύψας τὸ ἀδίκημα, μηδενὸς ὡν αἴτιος, ὀργῆς δὲ καιρῷ καὶ δια-

TESTIMONIA

DEATH

T30 Thucydides, *History*

He (i.e. Demosthenes) bivouacked with his army at the temple of Nemean Zeus, where the poet Hesiod is said by the locals to have died after he had received an oracle that this would happen to him in Nemea.

T31 Pausanias, *Description of Greece*

There are conflicting versions of the death of Hesiod. That the sons of Ganyctor, Ctimenus and Antiphus, fled to Molycria from Naupactus because of the murder of Hesiod and that they were punished there for their sacrileges against Poseidon—this is said by all in the same way. But some say that it was someone else who seduced the young men's sister and that Hesiod has undeservedly gotten a bad reputation for this crime, while others say that the deed was done by him.

T32 Plutarch, *The Dinner of the Seven Wise Men*

A man from Miletus, as it seems, with whom Hesiod was sharing room and board in Locris, had intercourse in secret with the host's daughter; and when he was caught, he (i.e. Hesiod) was suspected of having known about the crime from the beginning and having helped to conceal it, although in fact he was guilty of nothing but undeservedly

βολῆς περιπεσὸν ἀδίκως. ἀπέκτειναν γὰρ αὐτὸν οἱ τῆς παιδίσκης ἀδελφοὶ περὶ τὸ Λοκρικὸν Νέμειον ἐνεδρεύσαντες, καὶ μετ' αὐτοῦ τὸν ἀκόλουθον, ὁ Τρωίλος ἦν ὄνομα. τῶν δὲ σωμάτων εἰς τὴν θάλατταν ὥσθέντων τὸ μὲν τοῦ Τρωίλου, εἰς τὸν Δάφνον ποταμὸν ἔξω φορούμενον, ἐπεσχέθη περικλύστῳ χοιράδι μικρὸν ὑπὲρ τὴν θάλατταν ἀνεχούσῃ· καὶ μέχρι νῦν Τρωίλος ἡ χοιρὰς καλεῖται· τοῦ δ' Ἡσιόδου τὸν νεκρὸν εὐθὺς ἀπὸ γῆς ὑπολαβοῦσα δελφίνων ἀγέλη πρὸς τὸ Ρίον κατὰ τὴν Μολύκρειαν ἐκόμιζε. ἐτύγχανε δὲ Λοκροῖς ἡ τῶν Ρίων καθεστῶσα θυσία καὶ πανήγυρις, ἦν ἄγουσιν ἔτι νῦν ἐπιφανῶς περὶ τὸν τόπον ἐκεῖνον. ὡς δ' ὥφθη προσφερόμενον τὸ σῶμα, θαυμάσαντες ὡς εἰκὸς ἐπὶ τὴν ἀκτὴν κατέδραμον, καὶ γνωρίσαντες ἔτι πρόσφατον τὸν νεκρὸν ἄπαντα δεύτερα τοῦ ζητεῖν τὸν φόνον ἐποιοῦντο διὰ τὴν δόξαν τοῦ Ἡσιόδου. καὶ τοῦτο μὲν ταχέως ἐπραξαν, εὐρόντες τοὺς φονεῖς· αὐτούς τε γὰρ κατεπόντισαν ζῶντας καὶ τὴν οἰκίαν κατέσκαψαν. ἐτάφη δ' ὁ Ἡσίοδος πρὸς τῷ Νεμείῳ· τὸν δὲ τάφον οἱ πολλοὶ τῶν ξένων οὐκ ἴσασιν, ἀλλ' ἀποκέκρυπται ζητούμενος ὑπ' Ὀρχομενίων, ὡς φασι, βουλομένων κατὰ χρησμὸν ἀνελέσθαι τὰ λείψανα καὶ θάψαι παρ' αὐτοῖς.

TESTIMONIA

fell foul of an angry accusation. For the girl's brothers lay in wait for him near the temple of Nemean Zeus in Locris and killed him, and together with him his attendant, whose name was Troilus. Their bodies were thrown into the sea. Troilus' was borne outwards by the river Daphnus and came to rest on a wave-swept rock that stuck out a little bit above the surface of the sea; and even today that rock is called Troilus. As for Hesiod's corpse, a school of dolphins took it up just off the land and brought it to Rhium in Molycreia. It happened that the customary Rhian sacrifice and festival was taking place in Locris; they celebrate it publicly even now around that place. When the body was seen being carried to land, they ran to the shore, understandably astonished, and when they recognized the body, which was still fresh, they made investigating the murder their first priority because of Hesiod's fame. And they quickly succeeded in discovering the murderers, and cast them living into the sea and tore down their house. Hesiod was buried near the temple of Nemean Zeus. Most outsiders do not know about his grave, for it has been hidden because the Orchomenians are looking for it, as they say, since in accordance with an oracle they want to remove his remains and bury him in their own land.

T33 Plut. *De sollert. animal.***(a)** 13 p. 969d-е

ταῦτὰ δὲ καὶ τὸν Ἡσιόδου κύνα τοῦ σοφοῦ δρᾶσαι λέγουσι, τοὺς Γανύκτορος ἔξελέγξαντα τοῦ Ναυπακτίου παῖδας, ὑφ' ὧν ὁ Ἡσιόδος ἀπέθανεν.

(b) 36 p. 984d

ἔδει δὲ τὸν κύν' αἰτιασάμενον μὴ παραλιπεῖν τοὺς δελφῖνας· τυφλὸν γὰρ ἦν τὸ μῆνυμα τοῦ κυνός, ὑλακτοῦντος καὶ μετὰ βοῆς ἐπιφερομένου τοῖς φονεῦσιν, <εἰ μὴ τὸν νεκρὸν> περὶ τὸ Νέμειον θαλάσση διαφερόμενον ἀράμενοι δελφῖνες, ἔτεροι παρ' ἔτέρων ἐκδεχόμενοι προθύμως, εἰς τὸ Ρίον ἐκθέντες ἔδειξαν ἐσφαγμένον.

<εἰ μὴ τὸν νεκρὸν> add. Bachet de Meziriac

T34 Pollux 5.42

κύνες δ' ἔνδοξοι· . . . οἱ δ' Ἡσιόδου παραμείναντες αὐτῷ ἀναιρεθέντι κατήλεγξαν ὑλακῆ τοὺς φονεύσαντας.

TESTIMONIA

T33 Plutarch, *On the Cleverness of Animals*

(a) They say that wise Hesiod's dog did the same thing, convicting the sons of Ganyctor of Naupactus, who had killed Hesiod.

(b) While you were indicating the dog as the cause you should not have left out the dolphins. For the information provided by the dog, which was barking and rushing in full voice against the murderers, would have been quite futile if the dolphins had not picked up his body, which was drifting in the sea around the temple of Nemean Zeus, eagerly taking him up in turns, and then set him ashore at Rhium, revealing that he had been murdered.

T34 Pollux, *Lexicon*

Famous dogs: . . . those of Hesiod, which remained beside him after he had been killed and convicted the murderers by barking.

Cf. T1, T2; and also *The Contest of Homer and Hesiod* 14 (pp. 340–45 West)

HESIOD

MISCELLANEOUS

T35 Paus. 1.2.3

Ἡσίοδος δὲ καὶ Ὁμηρος ἡ συγγενέσθαι βασιλεῦσιν
ἡτύχησαν ἡ καὶ ἔκοντες ὀλιγώρησαν, ὁ μὲν ἀγροικίᾳ
καὶ ὅκνῳ πλάνης. . .

POEMS

PERFORMANCES BY HESIOD

T36 Plato *Resp.* 10 600d

Ὀμηρον δ’ ἄρα οἱ ἐπ’ ἐκείνουν, εἴπερ οἶός τ’ ἦν πρὸς
ἀρετὴν ὀνήσαι ἀνθρώπους, ἡ Ἡσίοδον ράψωδεῖν ἀν
περιούντας εἴων. . .;

T37 Diog. Laert. 2.46

τούτῳ τις, καθά φησιν Ἀριστοτέλης ἐν τρίτῳ Περὶ
ποιητικῆς (Fr. 75 Rose), ἐφιλονείκει Ἀντίλοχος Λήμνι-
ος καὶ Ἀντιφῶν ὁ τερατοσκόπος, . . . καὶ Κέρκωψ
Ἡσιόδῳ ζῶντι, τελευτήσαντι δὲ. . . Ξενοφάνης (21 B 11
DK).

TESTIMONIA
MISCELLANEOUS

T35 Pausanias, *Description of Greece*

Hesiod and Homer either were not lucky enough to associate with kings or else deliberately looked down upon doing so, the former because he was rustic and reluctant to travel . . .

POEMS

PERFORMANCES BY HESIOD

T36 Plato, *Republic*

If Homer had been capable of benefiting men with regard to virtue, would his contemporaries have allowed him or Hesiod to wander around and perform as a rhapsode . . . ?

T37 Diogenes Laertius, *Lives of Eminent Philosophers*

As Aristotle says in book 3 of the *Poetics*, someone named Antilochus of Lemnus and Antiphon the seer vied with him (i.e. Socrates), just as . . . Cercops did with Hesiod when he was alive, and . . . Xenophanes after he had died.

HESIOD

T38 Plut. *Sept. sap. conv.* 10 pp. 153f-154a

ἀκούομεν γὰρ ὅτι καὶ πρὸς τὰς Ἀμφιδάμαντος ταφὰς
εἰς Χαλκίδα τῶν τότε σοφῶν οἱ δοκιμώτατοι ποιηταὶ
συνῆλθον· . . . ἐπεὶ δὲ τὰ παρεσκευασμένα τοῖς ποιη-
ταῖς ἔπη χαλεπὴν καὶ δύσκολον ἐποίει τὴν κρίσιν διὰ
τὸ ἐφάμιλλον, ἢ τε δόξα τῶν ἀγωνιστῶν, Ὁμήρου καὶ
Ἡσιόδου, πολλὴν ἀπορίαν μετ' αἰδοῦς τοῖς κρίνοντις
παρεῖχεν, ἐτράποντο πρὸς τοιαύτας ἐρωτήσεις, καὶ
πρόεβαλ' ὁ μέν, ὡς φασι, Λέσχης·

Μοῦσά μοι ἔννεπε κεῖνα, τὰ μήτ' ἐγένοντο
πάροιθε
μήτ' ἔσται μετόπισθεν. (*Parva Ilias Fr. 1 Bernabè*)
ἀπεκρίνατο δ' Ἡσίοδος ἐκ τοῦ παρατυχόντος·
ἀλλ' ὅταν ἀμφὶ Διὸς τύμβῳ καναχήποδες ἵπποι
ἄρματα συντρίψωσιν ἐπειγόμενοι περὶ νίκης.
καὶ διὰ τοῦτο λέγεται μάλιστα θαυμασθεὶς τοῦ τρίπο-
δος τυχεῖν.

T39 Paus. 10.7.3

λέγεται δὲ καὶ Ἡσίοδον ἀπελαθῆναι τοῦ ἀγωνίσματος
ἄτε οὐ κιθαρίζειν ὅμοι τῇ ὠδῇ δεδιδαγμένοι.

T40 Paus. 9.31.3

ἐν δὲ τῷ Ἑλικῶνι καὶ ἄλλοι τρίποδες κεῖνται καὶ

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T38 Plutarch, *The Dinner of the Seven Wise Men*

For we are told that the most renowned poets among the wise men of that time came together in Chalcis for the funeral of Amphidamas. . . . Since the poems which the poets had prepared made the decision difficult and irksome because they were of matching quality, and the renown of the contestants Homer and Hesiod made the judges feel helpless and embarrassed, they turned to riddles of the following sort, and Lesches, as they say, proposed the following:

Muse, tell me what has never happened earlier
nor will ever come about later.

And Hesiod answered on the spot,

When around the tomb of Zeus the loud-footed
horses
make the chariots rub together, hastening for the
victory.

And he is said to have been very much admired because of this and to have won the tripod.

T39 Pausanias, *Description of Greece*

Hesiod is said to have been expelled from the competition (i.e. in music at Delphi) since he had not learned to accompany himself on the lyre while he sang.

T40 Pausanias, *Description of Greece*

In Helicon there are other tripods preserved as dedica-

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ἀρχαιότατος, ὃν ἐν Χαλκίδι λαβεῖν τῇ ἐπ' Εὐρίπῳ λέγουσιν Ἡσίοδον νικήσαντα ὡδῆ.

T41 Schol. Pind. *Nem.* 2.1 (III p. 31.13 Drachmann)

ράψῳδῆσαι δέ φησι πρῶτον τὸν Ἡσίοδον Νικοκλῆς (*FGrHist* 376 F 8).

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T42 Paus. 9.31.4–5

Βοιωτῶν δὲ οἱ περὶ τὸν Ἐλικῶνα οἰκοῦντες παρειλημμένα δόξη λέγουσιν ὡς ἄλλο Ἡσίοδος ποιήσειεν οὐδὲν ἢ τὰ Ἔργα· καὶ τούτων δὲ τὸ ἐς τὰς Μούσας ἀφαιροῦσι προοίμιον, ἀρχὴν τῆς ποιήσεως εἶναι τὸ ἐς τὰς Ἔριδας λέγοντες (v.11)· καί μοι μόλυβδον ἐδείκνυσαν, ἐνθα ἡ πηγή, τὰ πολλὰ ὑπὸ τοῦ χρόνου λελυμασμένον· ἐγγέγραπται δὲ αὐτῷ τὰ Ἔργα. ἔστι δὲ καὶ ἔτέρα κεχωρισμένη τῆς προτέρας, ὡς πολύν τινα ἐπῶν ὁ Ἡσίοδος ἀριθμὸν ποιήσειεν, ἐς γυναικάς τε ἀδόμενα καὶ ἀσ μεγάλας ἐπονομάζουσιν Ἡοίας, καὶ Θεογονίαν τε καὶ ἐς τὸν μάντιν Μελάμποδα, καὶ ὡς Θησεὺς ἐς τὸν Ἀιδην ὁμοῦ Πειρίθῳ καταβαίη παρανέσεις τε Χίρωνος ἐπὶ διδασκαλίᾳ δὴ τῇ Ἀχιλλέως, καὶ ὅσα ἐπὶ Ἔργοις τε καὶ Ἡμέραις. οἱ δὲ αὐτοὶ οὗτοι λέγουσι καὶ ὡς μαντικὴν Ἡσίοδος διδαχθείη παρὰ Ἀκαρνάνων· καὶ ἔστιν ἐπη Μαντικά, ὅπόσα τε ἐπελέξαμεθα καὶ ἡμεῖς, καὶ ἐξηγήσεις ἐπὶ τέρασιν.

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tions; the oldest is one that they say Hesiod received in Chalcis on the Euripus when he won a victory in song.

T41 Scholium on Pindar's *Nemeans*

Nicocles says that Hesiod was the first to perform as a rhapsode.

Cf. also *The Contest of Homer and Hesiod* 5–13 (pp. 322–41 West)

CATALOGUES OF POEMS

Many Poems

T42 Pausanias, *Description of Greece*

The Boeotians who live around Helicon say that of the poems commonly ascribed to him Hesiod composed nothing but the *Works*. And from this poem they remove the proem to the Muses, saying that it begins with the lines about the Strifes (i.e. line 11). And where the fountain is they showed me a lead tablet, very much damaged by the passage of time. On it was written the *Works*. But there is another opinion, different from the first one, according to which Hesiod composed a very great number of epic poems: the poem about women; and what they call the *Great Ehoiai*; *The Theogony*; the poem about the seer Melampous; the one about Theseus' descent into Hades together with Peirithous; and *The Precepts of Chiron* (the ones for teaching Achilles); and everything that follows after the *Works and Days*. These latter also say that Hesiod was taught the mantic art by the Acharnians; and in fact there is a poem on soothsaying, which we too have read, and explanations of prodigies.

T43 'Proclus' Proleg. ad Hes. *Op.*, p. 8 Gaisford

Ἡσιόδου Ἔργα καὶ Ἡμέραι τὸ βιβλίον ἐπιγέγραπται. . . οὗτο δὲ ἐπιγέγραπται πρὸς ἀντιδιαστολὴν τῶν ἑτέρων αὐτοῦ πεντεκαίδεκα βίβλων Ἀσπίδος, Θεογονίας, Ἡρωγονίας, Γυναικῶν καταλόγου, καὶ λοιπῶν ἀπασῶν.

T44 [Asclepiades vel] Archias *Anth. Pal.* 9.64.7–8

οὐ σὺ κορεσσάμενος μακάρων γένος ἔργα τε
μολπαῖς
καὶ γένος ἀρχαίων ἔγραφες ἡμιθέων.

T45 Luc. *Hesiodus* 1

θεῶν τε γένεσεις διηγούμενος ἄχρι καὶ τῶν πρώτων
ἐκείνων, Χάους καὶ Γῆς καὶ Οὐρανοῦ καὶ Ἔρωτος—ἔτι
δὲ γυναικῶν ἀρετὰς καὶ παραινέσεις γεωργικάς, καὶ
ὅσα περὶ Πλειάδων καὶ ὅσα περὶ καιρῶν ἀρότου καὶ
ἀμήτου καὶ πλοῦ καὶ ὅλως τῶν ἄλλων ἀπάντων.

T46 Max. *Tyr.* 26.4.89–93 Trapp = 26. IVa.78–82 Koniaris

καθάπερ ὁ Ἡσίοδος, χωρὶς μὲν τὰ γένη τῶν ἡρώων,
ἀπὸ γυναικῶν ἀρχόμενος καταλέγει {τὰ γένη} ὅστις
ἔξ ἥσ<τινος> ἔφυ, χωρὶς δὲ αὐτῶν πεποίηνται οἱ θεῖοι
λόγοι, ἔμα τοῖς λόγοις θεογονία· χωρὶς δ' αὐτὸς ὁ φελεῖ

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T43 ‘Proclus’, Prolegomena to Hesiod *Works and Days*

The book is entitled *Hesiod’s Works and Days*. . . . And it is entitled in this way to set it apart from his fifteen other books, *Shield*, *Theogony*, *Heroogony*, *Catalogue of Women*, and all the others.

Cf. T1, T2

Theogony, Works and Days, Catalogue of Women

T44 [Asclepiades or] Archias, epigram from the *Palatine Anthology*

Having drunk your fill of this⁴, the race of the blessed
ones and the works
you wrote in your songs, and the race of the
ancient half-gods.

T45 Lucian, “Dialogue with Hesiod”

recounting the births of the gods going back to those very first ones, Chasm and Earth and Sky and Love, and also the virtues of women and agricultural precepts, about the Pleiades and the seasons for plowing and harvesting and sailing and everything else.

T46 Maximus of Tyre, *Philosophical Orations*

Just as Hesiod catalogued separately the genealogies of the heroes, starting from the woman from which each one was born; and separately from these he composed discussions of divine matters, and together with these discussions a theogony; and again separately he provides useful

⁴ The fountain of Helicon; T44 is the continuation and conclusion of T93.

τὰ εἰς τὸν βίον, ἔργα τε ἀ δραστέον, καὶ ἡμέραι ἐν αἷς
δραστέον.

καταλέγει in app. Trapp: καταλέγων codd. τὰ γένη susp.
Koniaris, del. Most ησ<τινος> Anon. Lond. αὐτῶν
Paris. Reg. 1962: αὐτῷ Vatic. 1950 (apogr.)

T47 Manilius 2.11–25 ed. Housman

sed proximus illi

Hesiodus memorat divos divumque parentis
et Chaos enixum terras orbemque sub illo
infantem et primos titubantia sidera cursus
Titanasque senes, Iovis et cunabula magni
et sub fratre viri nomen, sine matre parentis,
atque iterum patrio nascentem corpore Bacchum,
silvarumque deos sacrataque numina nymphis.
quin etiam ruris cultus legesve notavit
militiamque soli, quod colles Bacchus amaret,
quod fecunda Ceres campos, quod Pallas utrumque,
atque arbusta vagis essent quod adultera pomis;
omniaque inmenso volitantia lumina mundo,
pacis opus, magnos naturae condit in usus.
astrorum quidam varias dixere figurās . . .

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information regarding the means of life, the works to do and the days to do them.

Theogony, Works and Days

T47 Manilius, *Astronomica*

But second after him (i.e. Homer),
Hesiod tells of the gods and the parents of gods,
and Chasm that gave birth to the earth, and the world
as an infant

under its reign, and the stars wavering on their first
pathways,

and the ancient Titans, and the cradle of great Zeus,
and the name of husband (i.e. Zeus) under the
category of brother (scil. of Hera) and that of
parent (scil. of Athena) without any mother,
and Dionysus being born a second time from his
father's body,

and the gods of the forests, and the Nymphs,
hallowed divinities.

He also noted down the cultivation of the countryside
and laws

and the military service of the soil, that Dionysus
loves the hills,

fertile Demeter the plains, Athena both of them,
that trees are adulterous with errant fruits.

And all the heavenly bodies flying in the immense
universe—

a work of peace—he establishes for the great
purposes of nature.

Some have spoken of the various figures of the
stars . . .

T48 Schol. Hes. *Op.* Prolegomena B p. 3.9–10 Pertusi
μετὰ τὴν ἡρωϊκὴν γενεαλογίαν καὶ τοὺς καταλόγους
ἐπεζήτησε καινουργῆσαι πάλιν ἔτέραν ὑπόθεσιν.

INDIVIDUAL POEMS

T49 Schol. Hes. *Op.* Prolegomena A.c p. 2.7–12 Pertusi
ὅτι δὲ τὸ προοίμιόν τινες διέγραψαν, ὥσπερ ἄλλοι τε
καὶ Ἀρίσταρχος ὁ βελίζων τοὺς στίχους, καὶ Πραξι-
φάνης ὁ τοῦ Θεοφράστου μαθητὴς (Fr. 22 a Wehr-
li). . . οὗτος μέντοι καὶ ἐντυχεῖν φησὶν ἀπροοιμιάστω
τῷ βιβλίῳ καὶ ἀρχομένῳ χωρὶς τῆς ἐπικλήσεως τῶν
Μουσῶν ἐντεῦθεν “οὐκ ἄρα μοῦνον ἔην ἐρίδων γένος”
(v. 11).

T50 Vita Chigiana Dionys. Perieget. 72.58–60 Kassel
τὸ δὲ τῶν Ἔργων καὶ Ἡμερῶν Ἡσιόδου καὶ τῆς
Θεογονίας πάσης ἔστι προτάξαι ποιήσεως· διὸ καὶ ὁ
Κράτης (Fr. 78 Broggiato) αὐτὰ κατὰ λόγον ἡθέτει.

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Works and Days, Catalogue of Women

T48 Scholia on Hesiod's *Works and Days*, Prolegomena

After the heroic genealogy and the *Catalogues*, he wanted to begin anew with a different subject matter.

INDIVIDUAL POEMS

Theogony

T1, T3, T8, T27, T42-T47, T86, T87, T93, T95, T97-T100, T109, T111, T116c, T117–20, T134–37, T139, T140, T142–44, T153, T154

Works and Days

T49 Scholia on Hesiod's *Works and Days*, Prolegomena

Some have crossed out the proem, as for example Aristarchus among others, who obelizes the verses, and Theophrastus' student Praxiphanes. . . . This latter says that he encountered a copy without the proem, which lacked the invocation to the Muses and began with “So there was not just one birth of Strifes after all” (i.e. line 11).

T50 Chigi Life of Dionysius Periegetes

That (scil. proem) of Hesiod's *Works and Days* and of the *Theogony* is a prelude for his poetry as a whole; hence Crates (i.e. of Mallus) too athetized them, reasonably.

T51 Titulus funerarius Prisci (C. Marek, *Stadt, Ära und Territorium in Pontus-Bithynia und Nord-Galatia*, Istanbuler Forschungen 39, Tübingen 1993, p. 207 no. 79, cf. pp. 100–16; SEG 43.911)

12 ὡς δ' ἐτέλεσσεν ἀγῶνα μέγαν κ' ἐπελήλυθε
 πάτρα,
 φένγος πᾶσιν ἔλ<α>νψε, μάλιστα δ' ἔοισι
 γονεῦσιν,
 καὶ τότε νοῦν ἔστρεψεν ἀροτρεύειν πατρ<ί>αν
 γῆν,
 15 πάντα ποιῶν ἄμα καὶ θρεππτοῖς ἐπέτελλε
 γεωργοῖς
 ἄρμενα πάντα ποιεῖν, ὅσα Ἡσίοδος περὶ
 γεωργοὺς
 [ἔξα]μάειν καρποὺς μεγάλους ἐπεδείξατ' ἀφεὶς
 τώς.
 β[ρῖσε δ' ὅ]λοις ἀγαθοῖσι πολὺν χρόνον
 ἵσπαταλήσας,
 19 ὅλβῳ καὶ πλούτῳ κεκορ<ε>σμένος εἰς ἀνάπανσιν.

T52 Arg. *Scuti* I

Τῆς Ἀσπίδος ἡ ἀρχὴ ἐν τῷ τετάρτῳ Καταλόγῳ φέρεται μέχρι στίχων ν' καὶ σ' (= Hesiodus Fr. 139 Most).

5 For a similar reference to Hesiod's *Works and Days* in another funerary epigram, this one from Claudiopolis in Bithynia (of uncertain date, after 130 AD), see S. Sahin, *Bithynische Studien*.

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T51 Funerary epigram for the soldier and farmer
Priscus (Caesarea in Paphlagonia, after 138 AD)⁵

When he had completed the great struggle⁶ and 12
 returned to his fatherland,
he shone as a beacon to all, especially to his own
 parents;
and then he turned his mind to plowing his father's
 land,
and doing everything himself, at the same time he 15
 also ordered his home-born peasants
to do everything fitting that Hesiod indicated about
 farmers,
thereby allowing them to harvest crops in abundance.
And he was laden with all good things and lived in
 luxury for a long time,
fully sated with bliss and wealth until his final repose. 19

cf. also T1, T7, T18, T22, T25, T27, T35, T42-T48, T80, T87a,
T89, T90b, T91, T92, T95, T96, T105-T107, T112, T113b, T120a,
T127, T143-T145, T147-48, T150-T155

Shield

T52 Argument to the *Shield*

The beginning of the *Shield* is transmitted in Book 4 of the *Catalogue* up to line 56 (= Hesiod Fr. 139). For this reason,

Inschriften griechischer Städte aus Kleinasiens 7 (Bonn 1978), pp. 50-52 no. 2; F. Becker-Bertau, *Inschriften von Klaudiu Polis*, Inschriften griechischer Städte aus Kleinasiens 31 (Bonn 1986), pp. 81-83, no. 75; cf. SEG 28.982.

⁶ Military service.

διὸ καὶ ὑπώπτευκεν Ἀριστοφάνης (Aristoph. Byz. Fr. 406 Slater) ὡς οὐκ οὖσαν αὐτὴν Ἡσιόδου, ἀλλ’ ἐτέρου τινὸς τὴν Ὁμηρικὴν ἀσπίδα μιμήσασθαι προαιρουμένου.

Μεγακλείδης ὁ Ἀθηναῖος (Fr. 7 Janko) γνήσιον μὲν οὖδε τὸ ποίημα, ἀλλως δὲ ἐπιτιμᾶ τῷ Ἡσιόδῳ ἀλογον γάρ φησι ποιεῖν ὅπλα Ἡφαιστον τοῖς τῆς μητρὸς ἔχθροις. Ἀπολλώνιος δὲ ὁ Ῥόδιος ἐν τῷ τρίτῳ (Fr. XXI Michaelis) φησὶν αὐτοῦ εἶναι ἐκ τε τοῦ χαρακτῆρος καὶ ἐκ τοῦ πάλιν τὸν Ἰόλαον ἐν τῷ Καταλόγῳ εὐρίσκειν ἡμιοχοῦντα Ἡρακλεῖ (Hesiodus Fr. 141 Most). καὶ Στησίχορος (Fr. 92 Page) δέ φησιν Ἡσιόδου εἶναι τὸ ποίημα.

T53 [Longin.] *De sublim.* 9.5

εἴγε Ἡσιόδου καὶ τὴν Ἀσπίδα θετέον. . .

T54 Philostratus *Heroicus* 25.7, p. 29.18–21 De Lannoy
 Ἡσιόδον μὲν ἐν ἄλλοις τε καὶ οὐκ ὀλίγοις καὶ νὴ Δῖ
 ἐν τοῖς ἐκτυπώμασι τῶν ἀσπίδων ἐρμηνεύων γὰρ
 οὗτός ποτε τὴν τοῦ Κύκνου ἀσπίδα τὸ τῆς Γοργοῦς
 εἶδος (*Scut.* 223–25) ὑπτίως τε καὶ οὐ ποιητικῶς ἥσεν.

T55 Schol. Dion. Thrax p. 124.4 Hilgard

τὰ ψευδεπίγραφα τῶν βιβλίων, ὡς ἔχει ἡ Ἀσπὶς
 Ἡσιόδου· ἐτέρου γάρ ἐστιν, ἐπιγραφῇ δὲ καὶ ὀνομα-

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Aristophanes (scil. of Byzantium) suspected that it did not belong to Hesiod but to someone else who had chosen to imitate the Homeric "Shield."

Megaclides of Athens considered the poem to be genuine but censured Hesiod: for he said it was illogical that Hephaestus should make weapons for his mother's enemies. Apollonius Rhodius says in Book 3 that it is his (i.e. Hesiod's), because of the style and because he finds Iolaus elsewhere in the *Catalogue* driving the chariot for Heracles (= Hesiod Fr. 141). And Stesichorus says that the poem is Hesiod's.

T53 Pseudo-Longinus, *On the Sublime*
if indeed the *Shield* is also to be attributed to Hesiod . . .

T54 Philostratus, *Heroicus*
(scil. Protesilaus criticizes) Hesiod regarding many passages, especially his depictions of shields. For when he described Cycnus⁷ shield, he sang of the appearance of the Gorgon (*Shield* 223–25) carelessly and not poetically.

T55 Scholium on Dionysius Thrax
Falsely titled books, like for example Hesiod's *Shield*; for this was written by someone else who used the title and

⁷ In fact, Heracles'.

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σίᾳ ἐχρήσατο τῇ τοῦ Ἡσιόδου, ἵνα διὰ τῆς ἀξιοπιστίας τοῦ ποιητοῦ ἄξιον κριθῇ ἀναγνώσεως.

T56 Hermesianax Fr. 7.21–26 Powell

φημὶ δὲ καὶ Βοιωτὸν ἀποπρολιπόντα μέλαθρον
‘Ἡσίοδον πάσης ἥρανον ἴστορίης
’Ασκραίων ἐσικέσθαι ἐρῶνθ’ Ἐλικωνίδα κώμην
ἔνθεν ὅ γ’ Ἡοίην μνώμενος Ἀσκραϊκὴν
πόλλ’ ἔπαθεν, πάσας δὲ λόγων ἀνεγράψατο
βίβλους
νύμνων, ἐκ πρώτης παιδὸς ἀνερχόμενος.

T57 Dio Chrys. *Orat.* 2.13

“ὅ μέντοι Ἡσίοδος, ὡς πάτερ, δοκεῖ μοι οὐδὲ αὐτὸς ἀγνοεῖν τὴν ἑαυτοῦ δύναμιν ὅσον ἐλείπετο Ὁμήρου.”
“πῶς λέγεις;”

“ὅτι ἐκείνου περὶ τῶν ἥρώων ποιήσαντος αὐτὸς ἐποίησε Γυναικῶν κατάλογον, καὶ τῷ ὅντι τὴν γυναικῶν ὑμητερίαν, παραχωρήσας Ὁμήρῳ τοὺς ἄνδρας ἐπαινέσαι.”

T58 [Luc.] *Erotes* 3.18

ἔναγχος γοῦν διηγουμένου σου τὸν πολύν, ὡς παρ’ Ἡσιόδῳ, κατάλογον ὅν ἀρχῆθεν ἥράσθης. . .

⁸ Echoe.

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name of Hesiod, so that it would be judged worth reading because of our trust in the poet.

cf. also T1, T43, T144, T145

Catalogue of Women

T56 Hermesianax, *Leontion*

And I say that after he left his home far behind,
Boeotian Hesiod, the keeper of all of history,
he arrived full of love at the Heliconian village of the
Ascraeans;
and there, wooing the Ascraean girl Echoe,
he suffered greatly, and he wrote down all those
books of his discourses,
singing hymns, starting from his first girlfriend.⁸

T57 Dio Chrysostom, “On Kingship”

“But it seems to me, old man, that even Hesiod too is not unaware of how far his own power falls short of Homer’s.”

“What do you mean?”

“While that one (i.e. Homer) composed a poem about heroes, he himself composed a catalogue of women, and in fact he hymned the women’s quarters, leaving it to Homer to praise men.”

T58 Pseudo-Lucian, “Loves”

while you are narrating the long catalogue, as is found in Hesiod too, of those with whom you have fallen in love since the beginning . . .

T59 Max. Tyr. 18.9.231–233 Trapp = 18. IXa.201–202
Koniaris

‘Ησιόδῳ δὲ ἀείδουσιν αἱ Μοῦσαι τί ἄλλο ἡ γυναικῶν ἔρωτας, καὶ ἀνδρῶν καὶ ποταμῶν ἔρωτας καὶ βασιλέων καὶ φυτῶν;

T60 Men. Rhet. *περὶ ἐπιδεικτικῶν* 6 (III p. 402.17–20
Spengel, p. 140 Russell-Wilson)

ἐπιφωνήσεις δὲ καὶ τῶν Σαπφοῦς ἔρωτικῶν καὶ τῶν Ὁμήρου καὶ Ἡσιόδου πολλὰ δὲ αὐτῷ ἐν τοῖς Καταλόγοις τῶν γυναικῶν εἴρηται περὶ θεῶν συνουσίας καὶ γάμου.

T61 Serv. ad Verg. *Aen.* 7.268 (II p. 147.11–14 Thilo)

antiquis semper mos fuit meliores generos rogare . . .
Hesiodus etiam *περὶ γυναικῶν* inducit multas heroidas
optasse nuptias virorum fortium.

T62 Eunap. *Vitae sophist.* 6.10.1

τούτου δὲ τοῦ γένους, οὐ γὰρ τὰς Ἡσιόδου καλούμένας Ἡοίας ἔσπευδον γράφειν, ἀπόρροιαί τινες, ὥσπερ ἀστέρων περιελείφθησαν. . .

T63 Diomedes *Grammatici Latini* I p. 482.33–483.1 Keil
historice est qua narrationes et genealogiae componuntur,

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T59 Maximus of Tyre, *Philosophical Orations*

What else do the Muses sing to Hesiod besides the loves of women and men, and of rivers and kings and plants?

T60 Menander Rhetor, *On Epideictic Speeches*

You should also quote from Sappho's erotic poems, and from Homer's and Hesiod's; for much is said by him (i.e. Hesiod) in the *Catalogues of Women* about the gods' sexual unions and marriages.

T61 Servius on Virgil's *Aeneid*

It was always a custom among the ancients to ask for sons-in-law better (scil. than themselves). . . . And Hesiod *About Women* introduces many heroines wishing for marriages with brave men.

T62 Eunapius, *Lives of the Sophists*

From this family (i.e. that of the female philosopher Sosipatra)—for it has not been my intention to write Hesiod's so-called *Ehoiai*—there have survived some emanations as though from the stars . . .

T63 Diomedes, “On Poems”

a historical (scil. poem) is one in which narratives and

ut est Hesiodi γυναικῶν κατάλογος et similia.

T64 Hesych. η 650 Latte (cf. *Etym. Gudianum* p. 246.23 Sturz)

ἡοῖαι· ὁ κατάλογος Ἡσιόδου.

T65 Eustath. in Hom. *Od.* 11.225, p. 1680.29

ὅτι πάνυ δεξιῶς ὁ ποιητὴς τὴν ῥαψῳδίαν ταύτην ἡρώων ἄμα καὶ ἡρωΐδων πεποίηκε κατάλογον, Ἡσιόδου μόνων γυναικῶν ποιησαμένου κατάλογον.

T66 Athen. 8.66 p. 364b

ἐκ τῶν εἰς Ἡσίδον ἀναφερομένων μεγάλων Ἡοίων καὶ μεγάλων Ἔργων.

T67 Plut. *Quaest. conv.* 8.8.4 p. 730f

ὁ τὸν Κήνκος γάμον εἰς τὰ Ἡσιόδου παρεμβαλών (= Hesiodus Fr. 204e Most). . .

T68 Athen. 2.32 p. 49b

Ἡσιόδος ἐν Κήνκος γάμῳ—καν γὰρ γραμματικῶν παῖδες ἀποξενώσι τοῦ ποιητοῦ τὰ ἔπη ταῦτα, ἀλλ’ ἐμοὶ δοκεῖ ἀρχαῖα εἶναι. . . (= Hesiodus Fr. 204b Most).

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genealogies are composed, like Hesiod's *Catalogue of Women* and similar poems.

T64 Hesychius, *Lexicon*

Ehoiai: the catalogue by Hesiod.

T65 Eustathius on Homer's *Odyssey*

Quite cleverly the poet (i.e. Homer) composed this book (*Odyssey* 11) as a catalogue of heroes and heroines at the same time, since Hesiod had composed a catalogue exclusively of women.

cf. also T1, T42-T46, T48

Great Ehoiai

T66 Athenaeus, *Scholars at Dinner*

from the *Great Ehoiai* and the *Great Works* which are attributed to Hesiod.

cf. also T42

The Wedding of Ceyx

T67 Plutarch, *Table Talk*

the man who interpolated *The Wedding of Ceyx* into Hesiod's works (= Hesiod Fr. 204e) . . .

T68 Athenaeus, *Scholars at Dinner*

Hesiod in *The Wedding of Ceyx*—for even if the grammarians' slaves banish this epic from the poet, nonetheless to me it seems to be ancient . . . (= Hesiod Fr. 204b)

T69 Quintil. *Inst. orat.* 1.1.15

is primus (scil. Aristophanes Byzantinus, Fr. 407 Slater)
ὑποθήκας. . νεγασιτ εσσε ηνινσ ποεταε.

T70 Schol. Pind. *Pyth.* 6.22 (II p. 197.9 Drachmann)

τὰς δὲ Χείρωνος ὑποθήκας Ἡσιόδῳ ἀνατιθέασιν, ὃν ἡ
ἀρχή· (Hesiodus Fr. 218 Most)

T71 *Suda* χ 267 (IV p. 803.3 Adler)

Χείρων, Κένταυρος· ὃς πρῶτος εὗρεν ἰατρικὴν διὰ
βοτανῶν· Τποθήκας δι' ἐπῶν, ἃς ποιεῖται πρὸς Ἀχιλ-
λέα· καὶ Ἰππιατρικόν· διὸ καὶ Κένταυρος ὀνομάσθη.

TESTIMONIA

The Melampodia

T42

The Descent of Peirithous to Hades

T42

The Idaean Dactyls

T1

The Precepts of Chiron

T69 Quintilian, *Institutions of Oratory*

He (i.e. Aristophanes of Byzantium) was the first to assert that the *Precepts* . . . are not by this poet (i.e. Hesiod).

T70 Scholium on Pindar's *Pythians*

They attribute to Hesiod *The Precepts of Chiron*, of which this is the beginning: (Hesiod Fr. 218).

T71 The *Suda*

Chiron: a Centaur, who was the first to discover medicine by means of herbs. <He wrote> *Precepts* in epic verses which are addressed to Achilles; and also *Veterinary Medicine*. For this reason he was also called Centaur.

cf. also T42

T72 [Plato] *Epinomis* 990a

ὅτι σοφώτατον ἀνάγκη τὸν ἀληθῶς ἀστρονόμον εἶναι,
μὴ τὸν καθ' Ἡσίοδον ἀστρονομοῦντα καὶ πάντας τοὺς
τοιούτους, οἷον δυσμάς τε καὶ ἀνατολὰς ἐπεσκευμένον
...

T73 Callim. *Epigram* 27

Ἡσιόδου τό τ' ἄεισμα καὶ ὁ τρόπος· οὐ τὸν
ἀοιδῶν
ἔσχατον, ἀλλ' ὁκνέω μὴ τὸ μελιχρότατον
τῶν ἐπέων ὁ Σολεὺς ἀπεμάξατο· χαίρετε λεπταὶ
ρήσιες, Ἀρήτου σύμβολον ἀγρυπνίης.

T74 Plin. *Hist. nat.* 18.213

Hesiodus—nam huius quoque nomine exstat astrologia (= Hesiodus Fr. 226 Most) . . .

T75 Athen. 11.80 p. 491b

ὁ τὴν εἰς Ἡσίοδον δὲ ἀναφερομένην ποιήσας Ἀστρο-
νομίαν . . .

TESTIMONIA

The Great Works

T66

Astronomy or Astrology

T72 Pseudo-Plato, *Epinomis*

that of necessity the true astronomer must be wisest of all,
not one who does astronomy according to Hesiod and all
who are like him, merely studying the settings and risings

...

T73 Callimachus, epigram

Hesiod's is the song and the mode; it is not the very
last bit of the poet,
but rather, I do not doubt, his most honey-sweet
epic verses, that the man from Soli⁹ has taken as
model. Hail slender
discourses, token of Aratus' sleeplessness!

T74 Pliny the Elder, *Natural History*

Hesiod—for an *Astrology* in his name too is extant . . . (=
Hesiod Fr. 226)

T75 Athenaeus, *Scholars at Dinner*

and the author of the *Astronomy* which is attributed to
Hesiod . . .

⁹ Aratus.

T76 Plut. *De Pyth. orac.* 18 p. 402f

οὐδ' ἀστρολογίαν ἀδοξοτέραν ἐποίησαν οἱ περὶ Ἀρίσταρχον καὶ Τιμόχαριν καὶ Ἀρίστυλλον καὶ Ἰππαρχον καταλογάδην γράφοντες, ἐν μέτροις πρότερον Εὐδόξου καὶ Ἡσιόδου καὶ Θαλοῦ γραφόντων, εἴ γε Θαλῆς ἐποίησεν, ὡς ἀληθῶς εἰπεῖν, τὴν εἰς αὐτὸν ἀναφερομένην Ἀστρολογίαν.

T77 Georg. Mon. (Hamartolus) *Chron.* 1.10 (1.40 de Boor)

λέγει γὰρ Ἰώσηπος, ὅτι πρῶτος Ἀβραὰμ δημιουργὸν τὸν θεὸν ἀνεκήρυξε καὶ πρῶτος κατελθὼν εἰς Αἴγυπτον ἀριθμητικὴν καὶ ἀστρονομίαν Αἴγυπτίους ἐδίδαξεν. πρῶτοι γὰρ εὑρεταὶ τούτων οἱ Χαλδαῖοι γεγένηνται, παρὰ δὲ τῶν Ἐβραίων ἔλαβον Φοίνικες, ἀφ' ὧν ὁ μὲν Κάδμος ταῦτα μετήγαγεν εἰς τοὺς Ἑλληνας, ὁ δὲ Ἡσίοδος εὖ μάλα συντάξας εὐφυῶς ἐξελλήνισεν.

T78 Tzetzes *Chil.* 12.161–62 Leone

οὐ γράφει βίβλον ἀστρικήν, ἃς τὴν ἀρχὴν οὐκ οἶδα, ἐν μέσω τοῦ βιβλίου δὲ τὰ ἔπη κείνται ταῦτα (Hesiodus Fr. 227 Most);

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T76 Plutarch, *On the Pythian Oracles*

Nor was astronomy rendered less respectable by Aristarchus and Timocharis and Aristyllus and Hipparchus and their followers writing in prose, even if before them Eudoxus and Hesiod and Thales wrote in verse (if Thales really did write the *Astrology* which is attributed to him).

T77 Georgius Monachus (Hamartolus), *Chronicle*

Josephus says that Abraham was the first to proclaim that God was the creator¹⁰ and the first to go down into Egypt and teach arithmetic and astronomy to the Egyptians. For the first discoverers of these disciplines were the Chaldaeans, and the Phoenicians took them from the Hebrews. From these, Cadmus transferred them to the Greeks, and Hesiod put them into order very well and with great talent hellenized them.

T78 Tzetzes, *Chiliads*

Did he (i.e. Hesiod) not write an astral book? I do not know its beginning; but in the middle of the book are found the following lines: (Hesiod Fr. 227)

¹⁰ Cf. Josephus, *Jewish Antiquities* 1.155 (though Josephus seems nowhere to provide any warrant for the following claims).

T79 Athen. 11.109 p. 503d

ὅ τὸν Αἰγίμιον δὲ ποιήσας εἴθ' Ἡσίοδός ἐστιν ἡ
Κέρκωψ ὁ Μιλήσιος (= Hesiodus Fr. 238 Most)...

T80 Schol. Hes. *Op.* 828 (p. 259.3–5 Pertusi)

τούτοις δὲ ἐπάγουσί τινες τὴν Ὀρνιθομαντείαν ἄτινα
Ἀπολλώνιος ὁ Ρόδιος ἀθετεῖ (p. 42 Michaelis).

T81 Athen. 3.84 p. 116a-d

Εὐθύδημος ὁ Ἀθηναῖος (SH 455)....ἐν τῷ περὶ ταρίχων
Ἡσίοδόν φησι περὶ πάντων τῶν ταριχευομένων τάδ'
εἰρηκέναι...ταῦτα τὰ ἐπη ἐμοὶ δοκεῖ τινος μαγείρουν
εἶναι μᾶλλον ἡ τοῦ μουσικωτάτου Ἡσιόδου. . .δοκεῖ
οὖν μοι αὐτοῦ τοῦ Εὐθυδήμου εἶναι τὰ ποιήματα.

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Aegimius

T79 Athenaeus, *Scholars at Dinner*

the author of the *Aegimius*, whether it is Hesiod or Cer-cops of Miletus (= Hesiod Fr. 238) . . .

cf. T37

Bird Omens

T80 Scholium on Hesiod's *Works and Days*

At this point some people add the *Bird Omens*, which Apollonius Rhodius (p. 42 Michaelis) marks as spurious.

Dirge for Batrachus

T1

On Preserved Foods

T81 Athenaeus, *Scholars at Dinner*

Euthydemus of Athens . . . says in his *On Preserved Foods* that Hesiod said the following about all preserved foods: . . . These verses seem to me to be the work of some cook rather than the highly refined Hesiod's. . . . So this poem seems to me to be the work of Euthydemus himself.

T82 Pollux 10.85

τοῦ ποιήσαντος τοὺς Κεραμέας, οὓς τινες Ἡσιόδῳ προσνέμουσιν.

INFLUENCE AND RECEPTION

PERFORMANCES OF HESIOD'S POEMS

T83 Plato *Ion* 531a

“νῦν δέ μοι τοσόνδε ἀπόκριναι· πότερον περὶ Ὁμήρου μόνον δεινὸς εἴη ἢ καὶ περὶ Ἡσιόδου καὶ Ἀρχιλόχου;”
 “οὐδαμῶς, ἀλλὰ περὶ Ὁμήρου μόνον ἵκανὸν γάρ μοι δοκεῖ εἶναι.”

T84 Diogenes Babyl. Fr. 80 SVF 3.231.8–13 apud Philodem. *De musica* 4.9 (XVII.2–13) pp. 60–61 Neubecker

κάκεῖνο δὲ χρηστ[ο]μαθῶς εἴρηται τὸ σαίνε[σθαι] μὲν καὶ τοὺς ἴδιώτας ὑπὸ τῆς οἰκειότητος, παραλαμβάνειν [γ]ε τοι καὶ ἀκροάματ' εἰς τὰ συμπόσια, διαπίπτειν δὲ τῷ μὴ τὸν Ὁμηρον καὶ τὸν Ἡσίοδον

¹¹ Plato represents Ion as a successful rhapsode who both per-

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The Potters

T82 Pollux, *Lexicon*

the author of *The Potters*, which some people attribute to Hesiod . . .

cf. (Pseudo-)Herodotus, *On Homer's Origins, Date, and Life* 32 (pp. 390–95 West)

INFLUENCE AND RECEPTION

PERFORMANCES OF HESIOD'S POEMS

T83 Plato, *Ion*¹¹

“Now answer me this much: are you only terribly clever about Homer or also about Hesiod and Archilochus?”

“Not at all, but only about Homer—that seems to me to be enough.”

T84 Diogenes of Babylon, *On Music*

The following statement too is quite correct: ordinary people too are pleased by the appropriateness (i.e. of music to drinking parties) and they bring what they have heard with them to drinking parties, but they make a mistake by not bringing with them Homer and Hesiod and the other

forms and explains archaic poetry in public competitions. For public performance of Hesiod cf. also Plato, *Laws* 2.658d.

καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους ποητὰς τῶν μέτρων καὶ μελῶν·
βελτίω γὰρ ἔστω τὰ χρώμενα συμπόσια τοῖς τούτων.

T85 Athen. 14.12 p. 620a-d

οὐκ ἀπελείποντο δὲ ἡμῶν τῶν συμποσίων οὐδὲ ῥαψῳδοί. . . ὅτι δ' ἐκαλοῦντο οἱ ῥαψῳδοὶ καὶ Ὁμηρισταὶ Ἀριστοκλῆς ἐν τῷ περὶ Χορῶν (FHG 4.331). τοὺς δὲ νῦν Ὁμηριστὰς ὀνομαζομένους πρῶτος εἰς τὰ θέατρα παρήγαγε Δημήτριος ὁ Φαληρεύς (Fr. 55 a SOD=Fr. 33 Wehrli). Χαμαιλέων δὲ ἐν τῷ περὶ Στησιχόρου (Fr. 31 Giordano=Fr. 28 Wehrli) καὶ μελωδηθῆναι φησιν οὐ μόνον τὰ Ὁμήρου, ἀλλὰ καὶ Ἡσιόδου καὶ Ἀρχιλόχου, ἔτι δὲ Μιμνέρμου (Test. 22 G-P²) καὶ Φωκυλίδου (Test. 10 G-P²). . . Ἰάσων δ' ἐν τρίτῳ περὶ τῶν Ἀλεξάνδρου Ἰερῶν (FGrHist 632 F 1) ἐν Ἀλεξανδρείᾳ φησὶν ἐν τῷ μεγάλῳ θεάτρῳ ὑποκρίνασθαι Ἡγήσιαν τὸν κωμωδὸν τὰ Ἡσιόδου, Ἐρμόφαντον δὲ τὰ Ὁμήρου.

T86 Plut. *Quaest. conv.* 9.14.1 p. 743c

ἐκ τούτου σπουδὰς ἐποιησάμεθα ταῖς Μούσαις, καὶ τῷ Μουσηγέτῃ παιανίσαντες συνήσαμεν τῷ Ἐράτωνι πρὸς τὴν λύραν ἐκ τῶν Ἡσιόδου τὰ περὶ τὴν τῶν Μουσῶν γένεσιν (Theog. 53ss.)

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poets who composed verses and melodies: let us consider the better drinking parties to be the ones where the poems of these poets are performed.

T85 Athenaeus, *Scholars at Dinner*

Rhapsodes were not lacking from our drinking parties either. . . . Aristocles said in his *On Choruses* that rhapsodes were also called Homerists. The first person to introduce those who are now called Homerists into theaters was Demetrius of Phalerum. Chamaeleon in *On Stesichorus* says that not only Homer's poems were set to music but also Hesiod's and Archilochus', and further Mimnermus' and Phocylides' Jason in book 3 *On the Divine Honors to Alexander* says that at the great theater in Alexandria the comic actor Hegesias performed Hesiod's poems, and Hermophantus Homer's.

T86 Plutarch, *Table Talk*

After this we made libations to the Muses, we sang a paean to Apollo, the leader of the Muses, and then we sang to the lyre, together with Eraton, from among Hesiod's verses the ones about the birth of the Muses (i.e. *Theogony* 53ff.).

T87 Callimachus

(a) *Aetia* I Fr. 2.1–5 Pfeiffer

ποιμένι μῆλα νέμοντι παρ' ἵχνιον ὀξέος ἵππου
 Ἡσιόδῳ Μουσέων ἐσμὸς ὅτ' ἡντίασεν
 μέν οἱ Χάεος γενεστρεπτοὶ
]ἐπὶ πτέρυγης ὑδατοὶ¹²
 τεύχων ὡς ἐτέρω τις ἐῳδοὶ κακὸν ἥπατι τεύχει

(b) *Aetia* IV Fr. 112.3–6 Pfeiffer

...]τερης οὐ σε ψευδον[.....]ματι
 πάντ' ἀγαθὴν καὶ πάντα τι[ελ]εσφόρον εἰπένει...[...].
 κείνους τῷ Μοῦσαι πολλὰ νέμοντι βοτὰ
 σὺν μύθους ἐβάλοντο παρ' ἵχνον ὀξέος ἵππου.

T88 Alcaeus *Mess. Anth. Pal.* 7.55

Λοκρίδος ἐν νέμεῃ σκιερῷ νέκυν Ἡσιόδοιο
 Νύμφαι κρηνίδων λοῦσαν ἀπὸ σφετέρων
 καὶ τάφον ὑψώσαντο γάλακτι δὲ ποιμένες αἰγῶν
 ἔρραναν ξανθῷ μιξάμενοι μέλιτι·
 τοίην γὰρ καὶ γῆρυν ἀπέπνεεν ἐννέα Μουσέων
 ὁ πρέσβυς καθαρῶν γευσάμενος λιβάδων.

¹² Cf. also T73.¹³ Cf. *Works and Days* 265.

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POETRY

T87 Callimachus¹²

(a) *Aetia* I, near the beginning

To the shepherd who was pasturing his sheep by the
hoof-print of the swift horse,
to Hesiod, the swarīn of Muses when they met
him
] him the birth of Chasm [
] at the water of the hoof [
that in doing evil to someone else one does evil to
one's own heart.¹³

(b) *Aetia* IV, conclusion

] not falsely [
did he say you were fully good and fully perfecting [
that man at whom the Muses, while he tended his
many sheep,
cast stories beside the hoof-print of the swift horse.

T88 Alcaeus of Messina, epigram

In a shadowy glade of Locris, the nymphs
washed Hesiod's corpse with water from their
fountains
and piled up a tomb, and onto it goatherds poured
libations of milk
mixing them with blond honey;
for that was the kind of voice he had breathed forth,
the old man who had tasted of the pure streams of
the nine Muses.

T89 Marcus Argent. *Anth. Pal.* 9.161

Ἡσιόδου ποτὲ βύβλον ἔμαις ὑπὸ χερσὶν
έλισσων

Πύρρην ἔξαπίνης εἶδον ἐπερχομένην·
βύβλον δὲ ρύφας ἐπὶ γῆν χερί, τοῦτ' ἐβόησα·
“Ἐργα τί μοι παρέχεις, ὡ γέρον Ἡσιόδε;”

T90 Verg.

(a) *Buc.* 6.64–73

tum canit, errantem Permessi ad flumina Gallum
Aonas in montis ut duxerit una sororum,
utque viro Phoebi chorus adsurrexerit omnis;
ut Linus haec illi divino carmine pastor,
floribus atque apio crinis ornatus amaro,
dixerit: «hos tibi dant calamos, en accipe, Musae,
Ascraeo quos ante seni, quibus ille solebat
cantando rigidas deducere montibus ornos;
his tibi Grynei nemoris dicatur origo,
ne quis sit lucus, quo se plus iactet Apollo»

¹⁴ The last line is a pun; it also means, “Why do you cause me trouble, old Hesiod?”

¹⁵ Silenus.

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T89 Marcus Argentarius, epigram

Once while I was unrolling a volume of Hesiod in my hands

I suddenly saw Pyrrha coming towards me.
I threw the book onto the ground with my hand and cried out,
“Why do you bother me with ‘Works,’ old Hesiod?”¹⁴

T90 Virgil

(a) *Eclogues*

Then he¹⁵ sings of Gallus wandering by the streams of Permessus,

how one of the sisters led him into the Aonian mountains,

and how the whole chorus of Apollo rose up to greet him;

how Linus, a shepherd of divine song, his hair adorned with flowers and bitter parsley, said this to him: “The Muses give you these reeds—here, take them—

which once they gave to the old man of Ascra, with which he used

to draw down the unbending ash-trees from the mountains by singing.

With these may you tell of the origin of the Grynaean grove,

so that there be no forest of which Apollo is prouder.”

HESIOD

(b) *Georg.* 2.173–76

salve, magna parens frugum, Saturnia tellus,
magna virum: tibi res antiquae laudis et artem
ingredior sanctos ausus recludere fontis
Ascraeumque cano Romana per oppida carmen.

T91 Prop. 2.34.77–80

tu canis Ascraei veteris praecepta poetae,
quo seges in campo, quo viret uva iugo.
tale facis carmen docta testudine, quale
Cynthius impositis temperat articulis.

T92 Ov. *Amores* 1.15.11–12

vivet et Ascraeus, dum mustis uva tumebit,
dum cadet incurva falce resecta Ceres.

T93 [Asclepiades vel] Archias *Anth. Pal.* 9.64, 1–6

αὐταὶ ποιμαίνοντα μεσαμβρινὰ μῆλά σε Μοῦσαι
εὐδρακον ἐν κραναοῖς οὔρεσιν, Ἡσίοδε,
καὶ σοι καλλιπέτηλον, ἐρυστάμεναι περὶ πᾶσαι,
ώρεξαν δάφνας ἵερὸν ἀκρεμόνα,

¹⁶ Italy.

¹⁷ Virgil.

¹⁸ On the strings.

¹⁹ Like Homer.

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(b) *Georgics*

Hail, great mother of fruits, land of Saturn,¹⁶
great mother of men: it is for your sake that I embark
 upon matters of ancient praise and art,
daring to open up holy fountains,
and I sing an Ascrean song through Roman towns.

T91 Propertius, elegy

You¹⁷ sing the precepts of the ancient poet of Asca,
 in which field the grain flourishes, on which hill
 the grape.
With your learned lyre you compose the kind of
 poem that
 Cynthian Apollo moderates with his fingers set¹⁸.

T92 Ovid, *Loves*

The Ascrean man too¹⁹ will live as long as the grape
 swells for the must,
as long as the grain falls when it is cut by the curved
 sickle.

T93 [Asclepiades or] Archias, epigram

The Muses themselves, while you were pasturing
 your noon-time sheep,
they saw you among the rugged mountains,
 Hesiod;
and all drawing around you they stretched out to you
 a beautiful-flowered
 holy branch of laurel,

δῶκαν δὲ κράνας Ἐλικωνίδος ἐνθεον ὕδωρ,
τὸ πτανοῦ πώλου πρόσθεν ἔκοψεν ὕνυξ.

T94 Demiurgus *Anth. Pal.* 7.52

Ἐλλάδος εὐρυχόρου στέφανον καὶ κόσμον
ἀοιδῆς,
Ἄσκραῖον γενεὴν Ἡσίοδον κατέχω.

T95 P. Oxy. 3537 recto 3ff.¹

τίνας ἀν λόγου[ς Ἡσίοδος εἰπο]ι ὑπὸ¹
τῶν Μουσῶν ε. [] μ]ενος

Τίς με θεῶν ἐτίνα[ξε; τίς ἐνθεο]η ἥγαγεν ἄσθμα
Οὔρεά τε προλιπόντ[ι καὶ ἄλσεα κ]αὶ βοτὰ μήλων
Νυκτὶ μιῆ; τίς ἐπίστ[ατ' ἀπ' ἐνδό]ξου Ἐλικῶνος
Δάφνης εὐπετάλο[ιο δρέπειν ἐρι]θηλέας ὕζους;

5 Αὔτη μοι γένος εἰπ[ὲ θεῶν πτολ]έμους τε γιγάντων
Πάντων θ' ἡρά[ων γενεήν, φῦλ]όν τε γυναικῶν.
Αὔτὴ κόσμον ἐνισπ[ει]τε[ε, τὸν οὐδέπο]τ' ἔδρακον ὕστοις.
Μάνδρη ἐμὴ τριτά[λαινα καὶ αὔλ]ιες αἱ πάρος
αἰγῶν

Ἐρχομαι ἐς πτολ[c. 8 κ]ύκλον ἀγώνων.

¹ Cf. M.L. West, *ZPE* 57 (1984) 33–36; G. Agosti, *ZPE* 119 (1997) 1–5.

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and they gave you the inspiring water of the
Heliconian fountain,
which once the winged mare's hoof struck:

(T44 follows)

T94 Demiurgus, epigram

The crown of spacious Greece and the ornament of
poetry,
I contain Hesiod, Ascraean by birth.

T95 Oxyrhynchus papyrus (third or early fourth century AD)

What Hesiod would have said
when he was [] by the Muses
Who of the gods has shaken me? [Who] has sent a
[divine] breath
to me as I leave behind the mountains [and groves] and
flocks of sheep
in one night? Who [knew how, from famous] Helicon,
[to pluck] the luxuriant branches of beautiful-leaved
laurel?
Tell me yourself the race [of the gods and the wars] of 5
the Giants
and [the generation] of all the heroes and [the tribe] of
women;
yourself describe the universe, [which I have never] seen
with my eyes.
O my thrice-wretched cattle stables [and] my former
goat[-stalls,]
I am going to [] the circle of contests.

10 'Ιερὸς οὐκέτι κιττὸ[ς ἐπαρκέσει] οὐδ' ἔτι ποίμνῃ·
 Βαιὴ ἔμ[οὶ] σύμπαστα λ[υγροῖς σὺν] δώμασιν
 Ἀσκρη,
 Οὐδ' αὐτῆς Κύμης [ἀλεγίζω· χαίρ]ετε πάντες.
 Μηλονόμον Μοῦσαι [καλήν μ' ἐδ]ίδαξαν ἀοιδήν,
 'Εκ δ' ἑλόμην πολὺ [χεῦμα θεοπν]εύστον
 Ἀγανίππης.

15 Νῦν μοι Δῖε πάτερ π[ολὺ φίλτατε,] νῦν Πυκιμήδῃ
 'Ολβίστη μήτειρα καὶ[.....νήπιε] Πέρση,
 Στήσετ. ιεισαλ. οἴο [] ο]ὺ γὰρ ἀοιδὴν
 Παύρην βυκολικ[ὴν ἀναβάλλο]μαι, οὐδ' ὅσ' ἀφαυροὶ
 'Ρηιδίως μέλπουσι[c. 6 ἀγρο]ιῶται,

20 Οὐδέ μοι αἰπολικὴ . [c. 10]. εὐ^αδε^ρε σύριγξ·
 Σὺν δ' αὐτοῖς καλά[μοισιν ἀπέσ]τυγον ἄγριον ἡχήν.
 'Εκ Διὸς ἐκ Μουσέων [c. 10]ξ οὐράνιοί μοι
 Φαίνονται πυλεῶν[ες, ὁρῶ δ' εἰς θ]εῖα μέλαθρα·
 "Ηδη δ' ἀείδειν ἐθέλ[ω c. 9]εοσδε.

v. 1 ἔνθεον, 4 δρέπειν , 8 αὐλιες suppl. Diggle apud Parsons
 v. 1 τίς ἔνθεο]γ, v. 2 προλιπόντ[ι, 5 πτολ-, 7, 10, 11, 12, 15, 16, 17
 Στήσετ, 18, 23 suppl. West v. 2 καὶ ἄλσεα, 3, 4, 5, 6, 8, 13,
 14, 18, 19, 21 suppl. Parsons 9 πτόλεμον vel πτολίεθρ[ον
 Parsons, πτολέμοιο West 10 κῆπος Griffiths
 13 μηλονόμον Most: μηλονόμοι par. 20 εὐ^αδε^ρε Bari-
 gazzi, Di Benedetto apud Parsons

TESTIMONIA

No longer will the holy ivy [be enough], nor any longer 10
 my flock:

too small for me is all Ascra [with its wretched] houses,
 nor [do I care for] Cyme itself. [Farewell] to them all.
 The Muses have taught me, a sheep-tender, [beautiful]
 song,

I have taken a big [swallow] from [god-inspired]
 Aganippe.

Now, Dius, my [dearly beloved] father; now, Pycimede, 15
 most blessed mother; and [foolish] Perses,
 you will set up []. For not a
 small bucolic poem [do I begin to sing,] nor what the
 feeble

rustics easily sing [],
 nor does the goatherd's pipe please me []:
 I have come to loathe its rustic sound together with [the
 reeds] themselves.

From Zeus, from the Muses []. The heavenly
 gates are revealed to me, [and I see into] the halls of the
 gods.

Now I begin to sing [].²⁰

²⁰ As Agosti discovered, the Greek poem is an acrostic: the first letter of each line, taken together, yields the Homeric (not Hesiodic) tag phrase *τὸν δ' ἀπαμειβόμενος προσέφη*, “and answering him he said.” The poem seems to have ended here, as the acrostic is complete and the next line is vacant. For another poetic variation on Hesiod's *Theogony*, cf. P. Oxy. 2816 (beginning of the third century AD) = SH 938.

T96 Nonn. *Dionys.* 13.75

δυσπέμφελον Ἀσκρην,
πατρίδα δαφνήεσσαν ἀσιγήτοιο νομῆος.

RELIGION

T97 Xenophanes 21 B 11 DK

πάντα θεοῖσ' ἀνέθηκαν Ὁμηρός θ' Ἡσίοδός τε,
ὅσσα παρ' ἀνθρώποισιν ὄνείδεα καὶ ψόγος ἐστίν,
κλέπτειν μοιχεύειν τε καὶ ἀλλήλους ἀπατεύειν.

T98 Hdt. 2.53.2

οὗτοι δέ εἰσι οἱ ποιήσαντες θεογονίην Ἑλλησι καὶ
τοῖσι θεοῖσι τὰς ἐπωνυμίας δόντες καὶ τιμάς τε καὶ
τέχνας διελόντες καὶ εἴδεα αὐτῶν σημήναντες.

T99 Plato *Resp.* 2.377c-378c

“ ὃν δὲ νῦν λέγουσι τοὺς πολλοὺς ἐκβλητέον. . . . οὓς
(scil. μύθους) Ἡσίοδός τε . . . καὶ Ὁμηρος ἡμῖν
ἔλεγέτην καὶ οἱ ἄλλοι ποιηταί. οὗτοι γάρ που μύθους
τοῖς ἀνθρώποις ψευδεῖς συντιθέντες ἔλεγόν τε καὶ
λέγουσι.”

“ποίους δή . . . καὶ τί αὐτῶν μεμφόμενος λέγεις;”

“. . . ὅταν εἰκάζῃ τις κακῶς τῷ λόγῳ, περὶ θεῶν τε καὶ

²¹ Cf. also *Euthyphro* 6a, *Symposium* 195c.

T96 Nonnus, *Dionysiaca*

bad-weather Ascra,
the laurelled homeland of the eloquent shepherd.

Cf. T56

RELIGION

Theology

T97 Xenophanes, *Silloi (Satirical Verses)*

Homer and Hesiod attributed all things to the gods
which are a shame and rebuke among human beings:
committing theft and adultery and deceiving each other.

T98 Herodotus, *History*

These (i.e. Hesiod and Homer) are the ones who established a theogony for the Greeks and who gave the gods their appellations and distributed their honors and skills and explained their forms.

T99 Plato, *Republic* 2.377d–378c²¹

“Most of the ones (i.e. the stories) they now tell must be thrown out. . . . The ones that Hesiod and Homer told us, and the other poets. For it is these who have composed false stories and told them, and tell them, to human beings.”

“What kinds of stories? . . . And what fault do you say you find in them?”

“. . . Whenever one creates a wrong image in language

ηρώων οῖοί εἰσιν. . . πρῶτον μέν . . . τὸ μέγιστον καὶ περὶ τῶν μεγίστων ψεῦδος ὁ εἰπὼν οὐ καλῶς ἐψεύσατο ὡς Οὐρανός τε ἡργάσατο ἃ φησι δρᾶσαι αὐτὸν Ἡσίοδος, ὁ τε αὖ Κρόνος ὡς ἐτιμωρήσατο αὐτόν (*Theog.* 154–210). τὰ δὲ δὴ τοῦ Κρόνου ἔργα καὶ πάθη ὑπὸ τοῦ νέος (*Theog.* 495–505), οὐδέ τὸν εἰ ἦν ἀληθῆ ὥμην δεῖν ῥᾳδίως οὕτως λέγεσθαι πρὸς ἄφρονάς τε καὶ νέους. . . οὐδέ γε. . . τὸ παράπαν ὡς θεοὶ θεοῖς πολεμοῦσί τε καὶ ἐπιβουλεύουσι καὶ μάχονται—οὐδὲ γὰρ ἀληθῆ. . . πολλοῦ δεῖ γιγαντομαχίας τε μυθολογητέον αὐτοῖς καὶ ποικιλτέον, καὶ ἄλλας ἔχθρας πολλὰς καὶ παντοδαπὰς θεῶν τε καὶ ηρώων πρὸς συγγενεῖς τε καὶ οἰκείους αὐτῶν.”

T100 Diog. Laert. 8.21

φησὶ δ' Ἱερώνυμος (Fr. 42 Wehrli) κατελθόντα αὐτὸν εἰς Ἀιδου τὴν μὲν Ἡσιόδου ψυχὴν ἵδεῖν πρὸς κίουν χαλκῷ δεδεμένην καὶ τρίζουσαν, τὴν δ' Ὁμήρου κρεμαμένην ἀπὸ δένδρου καὶ ὅφεις περὶ αὐτὴν ἀνθ' ὅν εἶπον περὶ θεῶν.

T101 Plut. *Numa* 4.9

ἀπέδωκε δέ τινα τιμὴν καὶ Ἀρχιλόχῳ καὶ Ἡσιόδῳ τελευτήσασι διὰ τὰς Μούσας τὸ δαιμόνιον.

TESTIMONIA

about what the gods and heroes are like. . . . First of all . . . the greatest falsehood and the one about the greatest matters was said falsely and wrongly by the person who said that Sky did what Hesiod said he did, and then that Cronus avenged himself on him (i.e. *Theogony* 154–210). Cronus' deeds and his sufferings at the hands of his son (i.e. *Theogony* 459–505) must not, I think, be told so easily to the foolish and young, even if they were true . . . And not . . . at all how gods war and plot and fight against gods—for they are not true either . . . and even less are the battles of Giants to be recounted and elaborated on for them, and the many and various other hatreds of gods and heroes against their relatives and friends.”

T100 Diogenes Laertius, *Lives of Eminent Philosophers*²²

Hieronymus (i.e. of Rhodes) says that when he (i.e. Pythagoras) descended to Hades he saw Hesiod's soul bound to a bronze pillar and screaming, and Homer's hung from a tree and surrounded by snakes, because of what they had said about the gods.

Cults and Veneration of Hesiod

T101 Plutarch, *Life of Numa*

Because of their Muses, the divinity bestowed a certain honor upon both Archilochus and Hesiod after they had died.

²² Cf. T114.

T102 Plut. Fr. 82 Sandbach = Schol. Hes. *Op.* 633–40 (p. 202 Pertusi)

ἀδίκητον δὲ αὐτὸν ὁ Πλούταρχος ἵστορεῖ καὶ τότε εἶναι, Θεοπιέων ἀνελόντων τοὺς οἰκοῦντας, Ὁρχομενίων δὲ τοὺς σωθέντας δεξαμένων ὅθεν καὶ τὸν θεὸν Ὁρχομενίους προστάξαι τὰ Ἡσιόδου λεύψανα λαβεῖν, καὶ θάψαι παρ’ αὐτοῖς, ὡς καὶ Ἀριστοτέλης φησί, γράφων τὴν Ὁρχομενίων πολιτείαν (Fr. 565 Rose).

T103 Paus. 9.38.3–4

τάφοι δὲ Μινύου τε καὶ Ἡσιόδου καταδέξασθαι δέ φασιν οὗτω τοῦ Ἡσιόδου τὰ ὄστα. νόσου καταλαμβανούσης λοιμώδους καὶ ἀνθρώπους καὶ τὰ βοσκήματα ἀποστέλλουσι θεωροὺς παρὰ τὸν θεόν· τούτοις δὲ ἀποκρίνασθαι λέγουσι τὴν Πυθίαν, Ἡσιόδου τὰ ὄστα ἐκ τῆς Ναυπακτίας ἀγαγοῦσιν ἐς τὴν Ὁρχομενίαν, ἄλλο δὲ εἶναι σφισιν οὐδὲν ἴαμα. τότε δὲ ἐπερέσθαι δεύτερα, ὅπου τῆς Ναυπακτίας αὐτὰ ἔξευρήσουσιν καὶ αὐθις τὴν Πυθίαν εἰπεῖν ὡς μηνύσοι κορώνη σφίσιν. οὗτω τοῖς θεοπρόποις ἀποβάσιν ἐς τὴν γῆν πέτραν τε οὐ πόρρω τῆς ὁδοῦ καὶ τὴν ὄρνιθα ἐπὶ τῇ πέτρᾳ φασὶν ὀφθῆναι· καὶ τοῦ Ἡσιόδου δὲ τὰ ὄστα εῦρον ἐν χηραμῷ τῆς πέτρας. καὶ ἐλεγεῖα ἐπὶ τῷ μνήματι ἐπεγέγραπτο.

”Ασκρη μὲν πατρὶς πολυλήιος, ἄλλὰ θανόντος

TESTIMONIA

T102 Plutarch in a Scholium on Hesiod's *Works and Days*

Plutarch reports that it (i.e. Ascra) was uninhabited in his time too, because the Thespians killed the inhabitants and the Orchomenians took in the survivors. For this reason, he said, the god had ordered the Orchomenians to take Hesiod's mortal remains and bury them in their own city, as Aristotle too says in his treatise *On the Orchomenian Constitution*.²³

T103 Pausanias, *Description of Greece*

And there are tombs of Minyas and of Hesiod (i.e. at Orchomenus). They say that Hesiod's bones were brought there in the following way. Because a pestilential disease had befallen both men and livestock, they sent envoys to the god; they say that the Pythia replied to them that they were to bring Hesiod's bones from the region of Naupactus to that of Orchomenus, and that there was no other remedy for them. Then they asked a second time, where in the region of Naupactus they would find them; and the Pythia said that a crow would show them. And so, they say, when the emissaries were landing they saw a stone not far from the road, and the bird on the stone, and they found Hesiod's bones in a hole in the rock. And an elegy was engraved upon the memorial:

Ascra with its many cornfields (was) my homeland,
but now that I have died

²³ Cf. T2.

όστέα πληξίππων γῆ Μινυῶν κατέχει
 Ἡσιόδου, τοῦ πλεῖστον ἐν Ἑλλάδι κῦδος ὀρεῖται
 ἀνδρῶν κρινομένων ἐν βασάνῳ σοφίης.

T104 *Inscriptiones Graecae* VII 1785; cf. *SEG* 32.426, 506; 36.487

ὅρος τᾶς | γᾶς τᾶς [ia]|ρᾶς τῶν σ[νν]|θυτάων τᾶμ |
 Μωσάων Εἰσιοδείων

T105 *Inscriptiones Graecae* VII 4240a, b, c²

(a) 1 Εὐθὺ[κλ]ῆς παῖς Ἀμφικρίτου Μούσαις ἀνέθηκε
 κοσμήσ[ας] ἔπεσιν, τῶν ἀ χάρις εἴη ἀείνως
 3 καὶ γένεος τὸ τέλος κείνου καὶ τοῦνομα σώζοι.
 (b) 1 οὗτῷς ἀντωποῖς ἀριγηρα[λ]έος βροτῷ ἵσα
 οὐκ ἀδ[α]ῆς Ἐλικῶν Μον[σ]άων χρησμὸν ἰαχέω·
 “πειθομένοι[σ]ι βροτοῖς ὑποθήκαις Ἡσιόδοιο
 4 εὐνομία χ[ώ]ρα τ’ ἔσται καρποῖσι βρύουσα.”
 (c) 1 Ἡσίοδος Δίου Μούσας Ἐλικῶνά τε θεῖον
 καλ(λ)ίστοις ὕμνοις [
 3]ν α[...]ιον ἄνδρᾳ.

(a) 1 Εὐθὺ[κλ]ῆς Peek (b) 1 οὗτῷς ἀντωποῖς Peek
 (c) 2-3 [κύδην', ὁ δ' ἄρ' Ἀμφικρίτου] / [παῖς κεῖνον τιμάει
 ἔνστομο]ν α[ἰσ]ιον Peek

² Cf. W. Peek, *Philologus* 121 (1977) 173–75; A. Hurst, *Recherches et Rencontres* 7 (1996) 57–71.

²⁴ Cf. T105.

TESTIMONIA

The land of the horse-smiting Minyans holds my bones,
Hesiod's, whose glory among human beings is the greatest
When men are judged in the trials of wisdom.

Cf. T2, T32

T104 Boundary stone (Thespiae; dated on epigraphic grounds to the end of the third century BC)²⁴

Boundary of the holy land of those who sacrifice together to the Muses of Hesiod

T105 Stele with three dedicatory inscriptions (Thespiae, third century BC)²⁵

- (a) Euthycles, son of Amphicritus, has made a dedication to the Muses, adorning it with epic verses. May their grace be everlasting, and keep safe the fulfillment of his family and his name.
- (b) Like this, facing you, very aged, like a mortal, I, Helicon, not ignorant of the Muses, proclaim an oracle:
“For mortals who obey Hesiod's injunctions there will be good laws and the land will be full of fruits.”
- (c) Hesiod, son of Dius, the Muses and godly Helicon in most beautiful hymns [] man.

²⁵ Cf. T104.

T106 SEG 44.1291, 47.1874; BE 1995.604³

‘Ησίοδός π[ο]τε κλεινός, | ἐπεὶ Πέρση[ν τὸν
ἀδελφόν] |

χῶρος ἀπω[] | τὰ πατρώϊα [- - - - -] |
ἀλλὰ δέ τοι πά[νυ πολλὰ] | παρήνεστεν ὡς ἐπιεικές, |
ώς ἐπιεικὲς ὅν, | καὶ ταῦτα νεωτέρω[ι - - - - -]

1 Πέρση[ν τὸν ἀδελφόν] Mahé: Πέρση[η τῷ ἀδελφῷ] Peek
2 ἀπώκ[νησεν] dubitanter Mahé: ἀπογ[ήθη καὶ πάν] | τα Peek:
ἀπων[ήθη Hallof πατρῶι ἄ[μ' ὀλεσσεν] Peek: τὰ πατρώϊα [οὐκ
ἐπέδωκε] Hallof 3 ἀλλὰ Hallof 4 ὡς ἐπιεικές del.
Peek, qui post v. 3 versum excidisse suspicatus est (<καὶ πάλιν
ἔργαζεσθ' ἐκέλευστ· | ὁ δὲ ἄρδεικαθεν αὐτοῦ> | <εὐφρονέ>οντι
[κάστει], | καὶ ταῦτα νεωτέρω[ι ὅντι]) in fine νεωτερι[κοῖσιν
Tybout νεώτερο[ς ὡν dubitanter Richardson

T107 *Inscriptiones Graecae X 2. 2. 1* (pars II, fasc. II,
sectio I), 55; cf. SEG 49.710

[οὐδέ ποτ' ἵθυδίκησι μετ' ἀ]νδράσι λειμὸς ὀπηδεῖ
[οὐδὲ ἀάτη, θαλίης δὲ μεμηλ]ότα ἔργα νέμονται.

θεῷ
Δικαιοσύνη

T108 Paus. 9.27.5

ἐνταῦθα Ἡσίοδος ἀνάκειται χαλκοῦς.

³ Cf. J.-P. Mahé, *Topoi* 4 (1994) 567–86; K. Hallof, *Hyperboreus* 3.1 (1997) 2–3.

TESTIMONIA

T106 Hexametric inscription (Armawir in Armenia, ca. 200 BC)

Once famous Hesiod, when Perses, [his brother,
the estate [] his father's [
But he gave [very many] injunctions, as was appropriate,
as was appropriate,²⁶ and these to a younger [

T107 Dedicatory inscription (Heraclea Lyncestis in Macedonia, 110–20 AD)

Nor does] famine attend [straight-judging] men,
nor calamity, but] they share out [in festivities] the
fruits of the labors [they care for.²⁷

To the Goddess
Justice

T108 Pausanias, *Description of Greece*

There (i.e. in the marketplace at Thespiae) stands a bronze statue of Hesiod.

²⁶ The repetition of these words in the inscription is almost certainly mistaken.

²⁷ *Works and Days* 230–31.

T109 Paus. 9.30.3

κάθηται δὲ καὶ Ἡσίοδος κιθάραν ἐπὶ τοῖς γόνασιν
ἔχων, οὐδέν τι οἰκεῖον Ἡσιόδῳ φόρημα· δῆλα γὰρ δὴ
καὶ ἔξ αὐτῶν τῶν ἐπῶν (*Theog.* 30–31) ὅτι ἐπὶ ράβδου
δάφνης ἥδε.

T110 Paus. 5.26.2

παρὰ δὲ τοῦ ναοῦ τοῦ μεγάλου τὴν ἐν ἀριστερᾷ
πλευρᾷν . . . ποιητῶν δὲ Ὁμηρον καὶ Ἡσίοδον . . .

T111 Christodorus Theb. Aeg. Anth. Pal. 2.38–40

Ἡσίοδος δ' Ἀσκραῖος ὄρειάσιν εἴδετο Μούσαις
φθεγγόμενος, χαλκὸν δὲ βιάζετο θυιάδι λύσση,
ἐνθεον ἴμείρων ἀνάγειν μέλος.

PHILOSOPHY

T112 Plut. *Theseus* 3.3

ἥν δὲ τῆς σοφίας ἐκείνης τοιαύτη τις ὡς ἔοικεν ἴδεα
καὶ δύναμις, οἵᾳ χρησάμενος Ἡσίοδος εὐδοκιμεῖ μά-
λιστα περὶ τὰς ἐν τοῖς Ἔργοις γνωμολογίας.

TESTIMONIA

T109 Pausanias, *Description of Greece*

And Hesiod (i.e. in Helicon) is seated holding a lyre on his knees—not at all an appropriate ornament for Hesiod: for it is clear from his epic poems themselves (i.e. *Theogony* 30–31) that he sang holding a staff of laurel.

T110 Pausanias, *Description of Greece*

(the dedications of Micythus at Olympia:) beside the great temple, on the left side . . . and of poets, Homer and Hesiod . . .

T111 Christodorus of Egyptian Thebes, epigram

(at Byzantium in the gymnasium of Zeuxippus:)

Ascraean Hesiod seemed to be speaking to the
mountain Muses
and he was trying to burst the bronze in his divine
frenzy,
desiring to give voice to an inspired song.

PHILOSOPHY²⁸

T112 Plutarch, *Life of Theseus*

That wisdom (i.e. in the age of Pittheus of Troezen) apparently had the same sort of form and power as the one that made Hesiod celebrated above all for the aphoristic maxims in the *Works*.

²⁸ Cf. also T97-T100 (Theology).

T113 Heraclitus

(a) 22 B 40 DK

πολυμαθίη νόον ἔχειν οὐ διδάσκει· Ἡσίοδον γὰρ ἀν
ἔδίδαξε καὶ Πυθαγόρην αὐτίς τε Ξενοφάνεα τε καὶ
Ἐκαταῖον.

(b) 22 B 57 DK

διδάσκαλος δὲ πλείστων Ἡσίοδος· τοῦτον ἐπίστανται
πλεῖστα εἰδέναι, ὅστις ἡμέρην καὶ εὐφρόνην οὐκ ἐγί-
νωσκεν· ἔστι γὰρ ἔν.

T114 Iambl. *Vita Pyth.* 164

χρῆσθαι δὲ καὶ Ὁμηρού καὶ Ἡσιόδου λέξεσιν ἐξει-
λεγμέναις πρὸς ἐπανόρθωσιν ψυχῆς.

T115 Plato *Protagoras* 316d

ἐγὼ δὲ τὴν σοφιστικὴν τέχνην φημὶ μὲν εἶναι παλαι-
άν, τοὺς δὲ μεταχειριζομένους αὐτὴν τῶν παλαιῶν
ἀνδρῶν, φοβουμένους τὸ ἐπαχθὲς αὐτῆς, πρόσχημα
ποιεῖσθαι καὶ προκαλύπτεσθαι, τοὺς μὲν ποίησιν,
οἶον Ὁμηρόν τε καὶ Ἡσίοδον καὶ Σιμωνίδην, τοὺς δὲ
αὖ τελετάς τε καὶ χρησμῷδίας, τοὺς ἀμφί τε Ὀρφέα
καὶ Μουσαῖον . . .

T113 Heraclitus

(a) Learning many things does not teach one to have an intelligent mind; for otherwise it would have taught this to Hesiod and Pythagoras, and to Xenophanes and Hecataeus.

(b) The teacher of most people is Hesiod; they think that he knows the most—he who did not know what day and night are: for they are one.

T114 Iamblichus, *Life of Pythagoras*²⁹

They (i.e. the Pythagoreans) employed expressions of both Homer and Hesiod in order to correct souls.

T115 Plato, *Protagoras*

I (i.e. Protagoras) claim that the sophistic art is ancient, but that those ancient men who applied it, fearing that it was annoying, made a pretence and concealed it, some using poetry as a screen, like Homer and Hesiod and Simonides, others doing so with rites and oracles, like Orpheus and Musaeus and their followers . . .

²⁹ Cf. T100.

T116 Plato

(a) *Apologia* 41a

ἢ αὖ Ὄρφεῖ συγγενέσθαι καὶ Μουσαίῳ καὶ Ἡσιόδῳ καὶ Ὄμηρῷ ἐπὶ πόσῳ ἀν τις δέξαιτ' ἀν ὑμῶν; ἐγὼ μὲν γὰρ πολλάκις ἐθέλω τεθνάναι εἰ ταῦτ' ἔστιν ἀληθῆ.

(b) *Symposium* 209d

εἰς Ὄμηρον ἀποβλέψας καὶ Ἡσίοδον καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους ποιητὰς τοὺς ἀγαθοὺς ζηλῶν, οἷα ἔκγονα ἔαυτῶν καταλείπουσιν, ἢ ἐκείνοις ἀθάνατον κλέος καὶ μνήμην παρέχεται . . .

(c) *Timaeus* 40d-41a

περὶ δὲ τῶν ἄλλων δαιμόνων εἰπεῖν καὶ γνῶναι τὴν γένεσιν μεῖζον ἢ καθ' ἡμᾶς, πειστέον δὲ τοῖς εἰρηκόσιν ἔμπροσθεν, ἔκγόνοις μὲν θεῶν οὖσιν, ὡς ἔφασαν, σαφῶς δέ που τούς γε αὐτῶν προγόνους εἰδόσιν ἀδύνατον οὖν θεῶν παισὶν ἀπιστεῖν, καίπερ ἄνευ τε εἰκότων καὶ ἀναγκαίων ἀποδείξεων λέγουσιν, ἀλλ' ὡς οἰκεῖα φασκόντων ἀπαγγέλλειν ἐπομένους τῷ νόμῳ πιστευτέον. οὗτως οὖν κατ' ἐκείνους ἡμῖν ἡ γένεσις περὶ τούτων τῶν θεῶν ἔχετω καὶ λεγέσθω. Γῆς τε καὶ Οὐρανοῦ παῖδες Ὄκεανός τε καὶ Τηθὺς ἐγενέσθην, τούτων δὲ Φόρκυς Κρόνος τε καὶ Ρέα καὶ ὅσοι μετὰ τούτων, ἐκ δὲ Κρόνου καὶ Ρέας Ζεὺς Ἡρα τε καὶ

T116 Plato³⁰(a) *Apology*

Or again, to converse with Orpheus and Musaeus and Hesiod and Homer—how much would any of you give to be able to do this? As for me, I would be willing to die many times if this is true.

(b) *Symposium*

considering Homer and Hesiod and the other good poets with envy for the kind of progeny of themselves they left behind, which provides them with immortal glory and remembrance . . .

(c) *Timaeus*

About the other divinities, to say and to know their origin is beyond us, and we must believe those who spoke in ancient times, themselves children of the gods, as they said, and surely they must have known their own ancestors. So it is impossible to distrust the children of gods, even though they speak without probable and necessary proofs, but since they say that they are reporting matters regarding their own families we must follow custom and believe them. So it is according to them that we must accept and declare the origin concerning these gods. Of Earth and Sky were born the children Ocean and Tethys, and of these Phorcys and Cronus and Rhea and all the others together with these, and from Cronus and Rhea were born Zeus and

³⁰ Cf. T36, T72, T83, T115, and Fr. 92, 274, 300.; and *Rep.* III 414b–415d. Plato is apparently the earliest author who cites from Hesiod exclusively the *Theogony* and the *Works and Days*.

πάντες ὅσους ἵσμεν ἀδελφοὺς λεγομένους αὐτῶν, ἔτι
τε τούτων ἄλλους ἐκγόνους.

T117 Aristoteles

(a) *Phys.* 4.1 208b27–33

ὅτι μὲν οὖν ἔστι τι ὁ τόπος παρὰ τὰ σώματα, καὶ πᾶν σῶμα αἰσθητὸν ἐν τόπῳ, διὰ τούτων ἀν τις ὑπολάβοι· δόξειε δ’ ἀν καὶ Ἡσίοδος ὁρθῶς λέγειν ποιήσας πρῶτον τὸ Χάος. λέγει γοῦν πάντων μὲν “πρώτιστα Χάος γένεται”, αὐτὰρ ἔπειτα Γαῖαν εὐρύστερνος, (Theog. 116–17) ὡς δέον πρῶτον ὑπάρξαι χώραν τοῖς οὖσι, διὰ τὸ νομίζειν, ὥσπερ οἱ πολλοί, πάντα εἶναι που καὶ ἐν τόπῳ.

(b) *De caelo* 3.1 298b28

εἰσὶ γάρ τινες οἵ φασιν οὐθὲν ἀγένητον εἶναι τῶν πραγμάτων, ἀλλὰ πάντα γίγνεσθαι, γενόμενα δὲ τὰ μὲν ἄφθαρτα διαμένειν, τὰ δὲ πάλιν φθείρεσθαι, μάλιστα μὲν οἱ περὶ Ἡσίοδον, εἶτα καὶ τῶν ἄλλων οἱ πρῶτοι φυσιολογήσαντες.

(c) *Metaphys.*

i. A3 983b27–984a2

εἰσὶ δέ τινες οἵ καὶ τοὺς παμπαλαίους καὶ πολὺ πρὸ τῆς νῦν γενέσεως καὶ πρῶτους θεολογήσαντας οὕτως

Hera and all those we know of who are said to be their brothers and sisters, and then others who were the children of these.

T117 Aristotle³¹

(a) *Physics*

That place is something aside from bodies, and that every perceptible body is in place, one might suppose on the basis of these considerations. Hesiod too would seem to have spoken correctly when he made Chasm first. At least he says, “In truth, first of all Chasm came to be, and then broad-breasted Earth” (*Theogony* 116–17), as though there had necessarily to be first a space for the things that are, thinking as he does, as most people do, that everything is somewhere and in place.

(b) *On the Heavens*

There are those who say that nothing is ungenerated but that all things are generated, and that once they have been generated some of them remain indestructible while the others are once again destroyed—above all Hesiod and his followers, and then later among other people the first natural philosophers.

(c) *Metaphysics*

i. There are those who think that the first theologians too, who were very ancient and lived long before the present

³¹ Cf. T2, T37, T102, T119c, T128, and Fr. 303.

οἵονται περὶ τῆς φύσεως ὑπολαβεῖν· Ὡκεανόν τε γὰρ καὶ Τηθὺν ἐποίησαν τῆς γενέσεως πατέρας (*Theog.* 337–70), καὶ τὸν ὄρκον τῶν θεῶν ὕδωρ, τὴν καλουμένην ὑπ’ αὐτῶν Στύγα (*Theog.* 775–806)· τιμιώτατον μὲν γὰρ τὸ πρεσβύτατον, ὄρκος δὲ τὸ τιμιώτατόν ἐστιν. εἰ μὲν οὖν ἀρχαία τις αὕτη καὶ παλαιὰ τετύχηκεν οὖσα περὶ τῆς φύσεως ἡ δόξα, τάχ’ ἀν ἄδηλον εἴη, Θαλῆς μέντοι λέγεται οὗτος ἀποφήνασθαι περὶ τῆς πρώτης αἰτίας . . .

ii. A4 984b23–32

ὑποπτεύσειε δ’ ἀν τις Ἡσίοδον πρῶτον ζητήσαι τὸ τοιοῦτον, καλὸν εἴ τις ἄλλος ἔρωτα ἢ ἐπιθυμίαν ἐν τοῖς οὖσιν ἔθηκεν ὡς ἀρχήν, οἶον καὶ Παρμενίδης· καὶ γὰρ οὗτος κατασκευάζων τὴν τοῦ παντὸς γένεσιν “πρώτιστον μέν” φησιν “ἔρωτα θεῶν μητίσατο πάντων” (28 B 13 DK), Ἡσίοδος δὲ “πάντων μὲν πρώτιστα Χάος γένεται”, αὐτὰρ ἔπειτα Γαῖαν εὐρύστερνος . . . ἥδ’ Ἔρος, ὃς πάντεσσι μεταπρέπει ἀθανάτοισιν” (*Theog.* 116–20), ὡς δέον ἐν τοῖς οὖσιν ὑπάρχειν τιν’ αἰτίαν ἥτις κινήσει καὶ συνάξει τὰ πράγματα. τούτους μὲν οὖν πῶς χρὴ διανεῖμαι περὶ τοῦ τίς πρῶτος, ἐξέστω κρίνειν ὕστερον . . .

iii. A8 989a8–12

καίτοι διὰ τί ποτ’ οὐ καὶ τὴν γῆν λέγουσιν, ὡσπερ οἱ

generation, had the same idea regarding nature (viz. that water is its origin). For they made Ocean and Tethys the parents of generation (*Theogony* 337–70³²) and made water, which they called the Styx, the oath by which the gods swear (*Theogony* 775–806)³³; for what is oldest is most honorable, and what is most honorable is the oath by which one swears. Well, whether this opinion about nature really is primeval and ancient may well be unclear, but at any rate Thales is said to have spoken in this way about the first cause . . .

ii. Someone might suspect that Hesiod was the first to look for something of this sort (viz. a principle which is the cause of beauty and movement), and anyone else who placed love or desire as a principle among the things that are, like Parmenides too. For the latter as well, when he arranges the creation of the universe, says, “She planned love first of all the gods,” and Hesiod says, “First of all Chasm came to be, and then broad-breasted Earth . . . and Eros, who is foremost among all the immortals” (*Theogony* 116–20), indicating they thought it necessary that there be among the things that are some cause which will move things and bring them together. Well, how we should classify these with regard to who came first, let us be permitted to decide later . . .

iii. And yet why do they (i.e. those who claim there is

³² Cf. also *Il.* 14.201, 302.

³³ Cf. also *Il.* 15.37–38, *Od.* 5.185–86.

πολλοὶ τῶν ἀνθρώπων; πάντα γὰρ εἶναι φασι γῆν,
φησὶ δὲ καὶ Ἡσίοδος τὴν γῆν πρώτην γενέσθαι τῶν
σωμάτων (*Theog.* 116–17). οὕτως ἀρχαίαν καὶ δημοτι-
κὴν συμβέβηκεν εἶναι τὴν ὑπόληψιν.

iv. B4 1000a5–19

οὐθενὸς δ' ἐλάττων ἀπορία παραλέλειπται καὶ τοῖς
νῦν καὶ τοῖς πρότερον, πότερον αἱ αὐταὶ τῶν φθαρτῶν
καὶ τῶν ἀφθάρτων ἀρχαὶ εἰσιν ἡ ἔτεραι. εἰ μὲν γὰρ αἱ
αὐταί, πῶς τὰ μὲν φθαρτὰ τὰ δὲ ἄφθαρτα, καὶ διὰ τίν'
αἰτίαν; οἱ μὲν οὖν περὶ Ἡσίοδον καὶ πάντες ὅσοι
θεολόγοι μόνον ἐφρόντισαν τοῦ πιθανοῦ τοῦ πρὸς
αὐτούς, ἡμῶν δ' ὡλιγώρησαν (*θεοὺς* γὰρ ποιοῦντες
τὰς ἀρχὰς καὶ ἐκ θεῶν γεγονέναι, τὰ μὴ γενσάμενα
τοῦ νέκταρος καὶ τῆς ἀμβροσίας θυητὰ γενέσθαι
φασίν, δῆλον ὡς ταῦτα τὰ ὄνόματα γνώριμα λέγοντες
αὐτοῖς· καίτοι περὶ αὐτῆς τῆς προσφορᾶς τῶν αἰτίων
τούτων ὑπὲρ ἡμᾶς εἰρήκασιν· εἰ μὲν γὰρ χάριν ἡδονῆς
αὐτῶν θιγγάνουσιν, οὐθὲν αἴτια τοῦ εἶναι τὸ νέκταρ
καὶ ἡ ἀμβροσία, εἰ δὲ τοῦ εἶναι, πῶς ἀν εἰεν ἀῖδιοι
δεόμενοι τροφῆς;) — ἀλλὰ περὶ μὲν τῶν μυθικῶς σοφι-
ζομένων οὐκ ἄξιον μετὰ σπουδῆς σκοπεῖν.

T118 *Sext. Emp. Adv. phys. 2.18 = Adv. math. 10.18*

ὅ μὲν γὰρ εἰπών·

ἢτοι μὲν πρώτιστα Χάος γένετ', αὐτὰρ ἔπειτα

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one material principle) not name earth too (i.e. besides fire, water, and air), like most men? For they say that all things are earth, and Hesiod too says that the earth was created first among bodies (*Theogony* 116–17), so ancient and popular has this notion been.

iv. A very great difficulty has been neglected both by contemporary philosophers and by earlier ones, whether the principles of destructible things and of indestructible ones are the same or different. For if they are the same, how is it that some things are destructible and others indestructible, and for what reason? Hesiod and his followers and all the theologians only thought of what was plausible for themselves, and paid no attention to us. For when they establish that the principles are gods and are born from gods, they say that what does not taste nectar and ambrosia becomes mortal. It is clear that they are saying words that are intelligible for themselves, and yet what they have said about the actual application of these causes is beyond us. For if they (i.e. the gods) take hold of nectar and ambrosia for the sake of pleasure, then these are not at all the cause of their being; but if it is for the sake of being, how can they be eternal if they are in need of nourishment? But about mythic sophistries it is not worth inquiring seriously.

T118 Epicurus

Sextus Empiricus, *Against the Physicists*

For he who said, “In truth, first of all Chasm came to be,

Γαῖ ἐύρύστερνος, πάντων ἔδος (*Theog.* 116–117),

ἔξ αὐτοῦ περιτρέπεται· ἐρομένου γάρ τινος αὐτόν, ἐκ τίνος γέγονε τὸ Χάος, οὐχ ἔξει λέγειν. καὶ τοῦτο φασιν ἔνιοι αἴτιον γεγονέναι Ἐπικούρῳ τῆς ἐπὶ τὸ φιλοσοφεῖν ὅρμῆς. κομιδῇ γάρ μειρακίσκος ὃν ἤρετο τὸν ἐπαναγινώσκοντα αὐτῷ γραμματιστήν· “ἥτοι μὲν πρώτιστα Χάος γένεται”, ἐκ τίνος τὸ χάος ἐγένετο, εἴπερ πρῶτον ἐγένετο. τούτον δὲ εἰπόντος μὴ ἑαυτοῦ ἔργον εἶναι τὰ τοιαῦτα διδάσκειν, ἀλλὰ τῶν καλούμένων φιλοσόφων, “τούννν”, ἔφησεν ὁ Ἐπίκουρος, “ἐπ’ ἐκείνους μοι βαδιστέον ἐστίν, εἴπερ αὐτοὶ τὴν τῶν ὄντων ἀλήθειαν ἴσασιν”.

T119 Stoici

(a) Zeno Fr. 167, SVF I p. 43.20–24 = Cic. *De natura deorum* 1.14.36

cum vero Hesiodi Theogoniam interpretatur, tollit omnino usitatas perceptasque cognitiones deorum; neque enim Iovem neque Iunonem neque Vestam neque quemquam, qui ita appelletur, in deorum habet numero, sed rebus inanimis atque mutis per quandam significationem haec docet tributa nomina.

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and then broad-breasted Earth, the seat of all" (*Theogony* 116–17), is refuted by himself. For if someone asks him what Chasm came to be out of, he will not be able to say. And some say that this was the reason that Epicurus decided to study philosophy. For when he was still very young he asked his teacher, who was reading out to him the line, "In truth, first of all Chasm came to be," what Chasm came to be out of, if it came to be first. And when he (i.e. the teacher) replied that to teach things of that sort was not his job, but of those called philosophers, "Well then," Epicurus said, "I must go to them, if indeed they are the ones who know the truth of things."³⁴

T119 Stoicks³⁵

(a) Zeno

But when he (i.e. Zeno) interprets Hesiod's *Theogony*, he completely destroys the customary and perceived notions of the gods: for he does not reckon among the number of the gods either Zeus or Hera or Hestia or anyone named like this, but teaches that these names have been assigned to inanimate and mute things to signify something.³⁶

³⁴ A shorter version of the same story is found in Diogenes Laertius 10.2, with the additional information that Epicurus was 14 years old at the time.

³⁵ Cf. also Crates of Mallus, T50 and T139.

³⁶ Cf. Zeno Fr. 100, SVF1.28.5–10; Fr. 103–5, SVF 1.29.6–24; Fr. 276, SVF 1.63.25–27.

(b) Cleanthes et Chrysippus

(i) Cleanthes Fr. 539, SVF I p. 123.11–15 = Philodemus *De pietate* B 9970–80 Obbink

ἐν δὲ τῷ δευτέρῳ τά τε εἰς Ὀρφέα καὶ Μουσαῖον ἀναφερόμενα καὶ τὰ παρόντα Ὀμήρῳ καὶ Ἡσιόδῳ καὶ Εὐριπίδῃ καὶ ποιηταῖς ἄλλοις γένεσι καὶ Κλεάνθης πειρᾶται συνοικειοῦντας δόξας αὐτῷ.

(ii) Chrysippus Fr. 1077, SVF II p. 316.13–15 = Cic. *De natura deorum* I 15.41

in secundo autem volt Orphei, Musaei, Hesiodi, Homeri que fabellas accommodare ad ea, quae ipse primo libro de deis immortalibus dixerit, ut etiam veterissimi poetae, qui haec ne suspicati quidem sint, Stoici fuisse videantur.

(iii) Chrysippus Fr. 907, SVF II p. 255.30–34 = Galenus *De placitis Hippocr. et Plato.* III 4

ἐμπλήσας δέ οἱ Χρύσιππος ὅλον τὸ βιβλίον ἐπῶν Ὀμηρικῶν καὶ Ἡσιοδείων καὶ Στησιχορείων, Ἐμπεδοκλείων τε καὶ Ὀρφικῶν, ἔτι δὲ πρὸς τούτους ἐκ τῆς τραγῳδίας καὶ παρὰ Τυρταίου καὶ τῶν ἄλλων ποιητῶν οὐκ ὄλιγα παραθέμενος. . .

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(b) Cleanthes and Chrysippus

(i) In book 2 (scil. of *On the Gods*) he (i.e. Chrysippus) tries, like Cleanthes too, to accommodate to their (i.e. the Stoics') doctrines the poems attributed to Orpheus and Musaeus and those of Homer, Hesiod, Euripides, and other poets.

(ii) In book 2 (scil. of *On the Nature of the Gods*) he (i.e. Chrysippus) wants to accommodate the myths of Orpheus, Musaeus, Hesiod and Homer to what he himself said in book 1 about the immortal gods, so that even the most ancient poets, who did not have the slightest inkling of this, would seem to have been Stoics.

(iii) Chrysippus, having filled up the whole book (i.e. *On the Soul*) with verses of Homer and Hesiod and Stesichorus, of Empedocles and Orpheus, and inserting besides these many from tragedy and from Tyrtaeus and the other poets . . .

(c) Philo *De aeternitate mundi* 5.17–19 (VI pp. 77.20–78.11 Cohn-Reiter)

πατέρα δὲ τοῦ Πλατωνείου δόγματος ἔνιοι νομίζουσι τὸν ποιητὴν Ἡσίοδον, γενητὸν καὶ ἄφθαρτον οἰόμενοι τὸν κόσμον ὑπ’ ἐκείνου λέγεσθαι, γενητὸν μέν, ὅτι φησὶν “ἥτοι μὲν πρώτιστα Χάος γένετ’, αὐτὰρ ἔπειτα / Γαῖ ἐνρύστερνος, πάντων ἔδος ἀσφαλὲς αἰεὶ” (*Theog.* 116–17), ἄφθαρτον δέ, ὅτι διάλυσιν καὶ φθορὰν οὐ μεμήνυκεν αὐτοῦ. Χάος δὲ ὁ μὲν Ἀριστοτέλης τόπον οἴεται εἶναι, ὅτι τὸ δεξόμενον ἀνάγκη προϋποκεῖσθαι σώματι, τῶν δὲ Στωικῶν ἔνιοι τὸ ὕδωρ παρὰ τὴν χύσιν τούνομα πεποιῆσθαι νομίζοντες. ὅποτέρως δ’ ἀν ἔχοι, τὸ γενητὸν εἶναι τὸν κόσμον ἐναργέστατα παρ’ Ἡσιόδῳ μεμήνυται. μακροῖς δὲ χρόνοις πρότερον ὁ τῶν Ἰουδαίων νομοθέτης Μωϋσῆς γενητὸν καὶ ἄφθαρτον ἔφη τὸν κόσμον ἐν ἱεραῖς βίβλοις (*Gen.* 1. 1–2)...

T120 Neoplatonici

(a) Plotinus *περὶ ψυχῆς ἀποριῶν*, *Ennead.* 4.3.14.78–80 τούτων δὴ γινομένων φῶτα πολλὰ ὁ κόσμος οὗτος ἔχων καὶ καταγαζόμενος ψυχαῖς ἐπικοσμεῖται ἐπὶ τοῖς προτέροις ἄλλους κόσμους ἄλλον παρ’ ἄλλου κομιζόμενος, παρά τε θεῶν ἐκείνων παρά τε νῶν τῶν ἄλλων ψυχὰς διδόντων οἶον εἰκὸς καὶ τὸν μῦθον αἰνίττεσθαι, ώς πλάσαντος τοῦ Προμηθέως τὴν γυναῖκα ἐπεκόσμησαν αὐτὴν καὶ οἱ ἄλλοι θεοί· “γαῖαν

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(c) Philo, *On the Eternity of the World*

Some think that the poet Hesiod was the father of the Platonic doctrine: they think that the world is said by him to be generated and indestructible, because he says, “In truth, first of all Chasm came to be, and then broad-breasted Earth, the ever immovable seat of all” (*Theogony* 116–17), and indestructible, because he has not asserted its dissolution and destruction. Aristotle thinks that Chasm is place, because before there can be body one must presuppose something that can receive it,³⁷ and some of the Stoics think it is water, supposing that the name is derived from *chysis* (“flowing”).³⁸ But whichever it is, it is revealed most clearly by Hesiod that the world is generated. But a long time earlier, Moses, the lawgiver of the Jews, said in the holy Bible that the world is generated and indestructible . . .

T120 Neoplatonists

(a) Plotinus, *Difficulties about the Soul*

Because this has happened, this world order, which possesses many lights and is illuminated by the souls, is ordered further (*epikosmeitai*), receiving different world orders beyond the earlier ones, each one from a different source, from the gods of the other world and from the other intellects which give souls. It is likely that this is the sort of thing which is hinted at enigmatically by the myth too, that after Prometheus fabricated the woman all the other gods too adorned her further (*epekosmēsan*), that he

³⁷ Cf. T117a.

³⁸ Cf. Zeno Fr. 103, SVF 1.29.6–15.

ῦδει” φύρειν, καὶ ἀνθρώπου ἐνθεῖναι φωνήν, θεαῖς δ’ ὁμοίαν τὸ εἶδος (Op. 61–62), καὶ Ἀφροδίτην τι δοῦναι καὶ Χάριτας (Op. 65–66, 73–74) καὶ ἄλλον ἄλλο δῶρον καὶ ὀνομάσαι ἐκ τοῦ δῶρου καὶ πάντων τῶν δεδωκότων (Op. 80–82). πάντες γὰρ τούτων ἔδοσαν τῷ πλάσματι παρὰ προμηθείας τινὸς γενομένῳ. ὁ δὲ Ἐπιμηθεὺς ἀποποιούμενος τὸ δῶρον αὐτοῦ (Op. 85–88) τί ἀν σημαίνοι ἢ τὴν τοῦ ἐν νοητῷ μᾶλλον αἴρεσιν ἀμείνω εἶναι; δέδεται δὲ καὶ αὐτὸς ὁ ποιήσας (Theog. 521–22), ὅτι πως ἐφάπτεται τοῦ γενομένου ὑπ’ αὐτοῦ, καὶ ὁ τοιοῦτος δεσμὸς ἔξωθεν· καὶ ἡ λύσις ἡ ὑπὸ Ἡρακλέους (Theog. 526–34), ὅτι δύναμις ἐστιν αὐτῷ, ὡς τε καὶ ὡς λελύσθαι. ταῦτα μὲν οὖν ὅπῃ τις δοξάζει, ἀλλ’ ὅτι ἐμφαίνει τὰ τῆς εἰς τὸν κόσμον δόσεως, καὶ προσάδει τοῖς λεγομένοις.

(b) Iulianus *Orat. in Hel. Reg.* (4) 136a-137c

μὴ γὰρ δή τις ὑπολάβῃ τοῦτον (scil. Ἡλιον), δν οἱ μῦθοι πείθουσι φρίττειν, ἀλλὰ τὸν πρᾶον καὶ μείλιχον, ὃς ἀπολύει παντελῶς τῆς γενέσεως τὰς ψυχάς, οὐχὶ δὲ λυθείσας αὐτὰς σώμασιν ἐτέροις προσηλοῖ κολάζων καὶ πραττόμενος δίκας, ἀλλὰ πορεύων ἄνω καὶ ἀνατείνων τὰς ψυχὰς ἐπὶ τὸν νοητὸν κόσμον. ὅτι δὲ οὐδὲ νεαρὰ παντελῶς ἐστιν ἡ δόξα, προύλαβον δὲ αὐτὴν οἱ πρεσβύτατοι τῶν ποιητῶν, Ὁμηρός τε καὶ Ἡσίοδος, εἴτε καὶ νοοῦντες οὕτως εἴτε καὶ ἐπιπνοίᾳ

mixed “earth with water” and put into her the voice of a human, and made her like the goddesses in form (cf. *Works and Days* 61–62), that Aphrodite and the Graces gave something to her (cf. *Works and Days* 65–66, 73–74), and each god gave her a different gift, and she was named from the gift (*dōron*) and from the fact that all (*pantes*) had given one (cf. *Works and Days* 80–82). For all gave to this fabrication which came about from a certain forethought (*promētheia*). When Epimetheus is supposed to refuse his gift (cf. *Works and Days* 85–88) what else could this mean except that the better preference is the one for what is in the intelligible world? And the creator is himself bound (cf. *Theogony* 521–22), because in some way he is in contact with what he has generated, and a bond of this sort is external. And his liberation by Heracles (cf. *Theogony* 526–34) (scil. signifies) that even so he has the power to be liberated. One may think about these matters however one will, but in any case they make clear the gift to the world and they agree with what has been said (scil. by myself).

(b) Julian, *Hymn to King Helios*

For let no one think of him (i.e. Helios) as the one at which the myths teach us to shudder, but as someone mild and soothing, who completely frees souls from generation and, once they have been freed, does not nail them to other bodies, punishing them and making them pay a penalty, but instead carries the souls upwards and lifts them up towards the intelligible world. That this opinion is not completely new, but that the most ancient poets, Homer and Hesiod, accepted it—either because they themselves thought this or because they were divinely impelled to-

θείᾳ καθάπερ οἱ μάντεις ἐνθουσιῶντες πρὸς τὴν ἀλήθειαν, ἐνθένδ' ἀν γίγνοιτο γνώριμον. ὁ μὲν γενεαλογῶν αὐτὸν Ὄπερίονος ἔφη καὶ Θείας (*Theog.* 371), μόνον οὐχὶ διὰ τούτων αἰνιττόμενος τοῦ πάντων ὑπερέχοντος αὐτὸν ἔκγονον γνήσιον φῦναι· ὁ γὰρ Ὄπερίων τίς ἀν ἔτερος εἴη παρὰ τοῦτον; ἡ Θεία δὲ αὐτὴ τρόπον ἔτερον οὐ τὸ θειότατον τῶν ὄντων λέγεται; μὴ δὲ συνδυασμὸν μηδὲ γάμους ὑπολαμβάνωμεν, ἅπιστα καὶ παράδοξα ποιητικῆς Μούσης ἀθύρματα· πατέρα δὲ αὐτοῦ καὶ γεννήτορα νομίζωμεν τὸν θειότατον καὶ ὑπέρτατον· τοιοῦτος δέ τις ἀλλος εἴη τοῦ πάντων ἐπέκεινα καὶ περὶ ὃν πάντα καὶ οὖ ἐνεκα πάντα ἐστίν; . . . ἀλλὰ τὰ μὲν τῶν ποιητῶν χαίρειν ἔάσωμεν· ἔχει γὰρ μετὰ τοῦ θείου πολὺ καὶ τάνθρωπινον.

(c) Proclus *In Platonis Rem publ. Comment.* I p. 82.9–20
Kroll

τούτοις δὴ οὖν τοῖς τῶν τοιωνδε θεαμάτων ἐπηβόλοις λέγοντες, ώσ. . . οἱ δὲ Κρόνιοι δεσμοὶ τὴν ἐνωσιν τῆς ὅλης δημιουργίας πρὸς τὴν νοερὰν τοῦ Κρόνου καὶ πατρικὴν ὑπεροχὴν δηλοῦσιν, αἱ δὲ τοῦ Οὐρανοῦ (*Theog.* 176–81) τομαὶ τὴν διάκρισιν τῆς Τιτανικῆς σειρᾶς ἀπὸ τῆς συνεκτικῆς διακοσμήσεως αἰνίσσονται, τάχα ἀν γνώριμα λέγοιμεν καὶ τὸ τῶν μύθων τραγικὸν καὶ πλασματῶδες εἰς τὴν νοερὰν τῶν θείων γενῶν ἀναπέμποιμεν θεωρίαν.

wards the truth by godly inspiration like seers—is obvious from the following. For the one (i.e. Hesiod) provided a genealogy for him (i.e. Helios) by saying that he is the son of Hyperion and Theia (cf. *Theogony* 371), hinting thereby that he is by nature the legitimate offspring of him who is superior to all things—and who else could Hyperion be than this?³⁹ And is not Theia herself, in a different way, called the most divine of beings?⁴⁰ Let us not imagine a coupling or marriages, the implausible and unbelievable frivolities of the poetic Muse: instead let us believe that his father and begetter is the most divine and superior being: and who could be like this except him who is beyond all things, him about whom and for the sake of whom all things exist? . . . But let us set aside the utterances of the poets: for, mixed in with what is divine, these contain very much of what is human too.

(c) Proclus, *Commentary on Plato's Republic*

If we say then to those who have achieved such visions that . . . and that the binding of Cronus⁴¹ indicates the union of all creation with the intellectual and paternal transcendence of Cronus, that the castration of Sky (cf. *Theogony* 176–81) hints enigmatically at the separation of the Titanic chain from the world ordering that holds things together, then perhaps we would say what they already know and would restore the overly poetic and fictional aspect of the myths to the intellectual doctrine of the divine classes.

³⁹ Julian etymologizes Hyperion's name as "he who goes above."

⁴⁰ Theia's name means "divine."

⁴¹ It is unclear just what passage Proclus has in mind.

SCHOLARSHIP AND RHETORIC

T121 Clem. Alex. *Strom.* 6.2.26

τὰ δὲ Ἡσιόδου μετήλλαξαν εἰς πεζὸν λόγον καὶ ὡς ἕδια ἐξήνεγκαν Εὔμηλός (*FGrHist* 451 Τ 1) τε καὶ Ἀκουσίλαος (*FGrHist* 2 Τ 5) οἱ ιστοριογράφοι.

T122 Iosephus *Contra Apionem* 1.16

ὅσα δὲ διορθοῦται τὸν Ἡσίοδον Ἀκουσίλαος (*FGrHist* 2 Τ 6). . .

T123 Isocrates *Panathen.* 17–19

μικρὸν δὲ πρὸ τῶν Παναθηναίων τῶν μεγάλων ἡχθέσθην δι’ αὐτούς. ἀπαντήσαντες γάρ τινές μοι τῶν ἐπιτηδείων ἔλεγον ὡς ἐν τῷ Λυκείῳ συγκαθεζόμενοι τρεῖς ἡ τέτταρες τῶν ἀγελαίων σοφιστῶν καὶ πάντα φασκόντων εἰδέναι καὶ ταχέως πανταχοῦ γιγνομένων διαλέγοιντο περί τε τῶν ἄλλων ποιητῶν καὶ τῆς Ἡσιόδου καὶ τῆς Ὁμήρου ποιήσεως, οὐδὲν μὲν παρ’ αὐτῶν λέγοντες, τὰδ’ ἐκείνων ῥαψῳδοῦντες καὶ τῶν πρότερον ἄλλοις τισὶν εἰρημένων τὰ χαριέστατα μνημονεύοντες· ἀποδεξαμένων δὲ τῶν περιεστώτων τὴν διατριβὴν αὐτῶν, ἔνα τὸν τολμηρότατον ἐπιχειρῆσαι με διαβάλλειν, λέγονθ’ ὡς ἐγὼ πάντων καταφρονῶ τῶν τοιούτων, καὶ τάς τε φιλοσοφίας τὰς τῶν ἄλλων καὶ τὰς παιδείας ἀπάστας ἀναιρῶ, καὶ φημὶ πάντας ληρεῖν

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*History*⁴²

T121 Clement of Alexandria, *Miscellanies*

The historians Eumelus and Acusilaus turned Hesiod's poems into prose and published them under their own names.

T122 Josephus, *Against Apion*

all the passages in which Acusilaus corrects Hesiod . . .

Rhetoric

T123 Isocrates, *Panathenaic Discourse*

They (i.e. my rivals) annoyed me shortly before the Great Panathenaea. For some of my friends met me and told me that three or four of the ordinary sort of sophists—those who claim to know everything and want to be everywhere at once—were sitting together in the Lyceum and were discussing the poets, and especially the poetry of Hesiod and Homer. They were saying nothing of their own about them, but merely performing their poems like rhapsodes and repeating from memory the most entertaining things that others had said about them in earlier times. When the bystanders approved their discussion, one of them, the most daring one, undertook to make accusations against me, saying that I despise all such things and would destroy all the forms of culture and teaching practiced by others, and that I say that everyone talks rubbish except for those

⁴² Cf. also Strabo, *Geography* 1.2.14, 22, 35.

πλὴν τοὺς μετεσχηκότας τῆς ἐμῆς διατριβῆς· τούτων δὲ ρηθέντων ἀηδῶς τινας τῶν παρόντων διατεθῆναι πρὸς ἡμᾶς.

T124 Dion. Hal.

(a) *De comp. verb.* 23 (II p. 114.1 Usener-Radermacher)
 ἐποποιῶν μὲν οὖν ἔμοιγε κάλλιστα τουτονὶ δοκεῖ τὸν χαρακτῆρα ἔξεργάσασθαι Ἡσίοδος.

(b) *De imitat.* 2.2 (II p. 204.14 Usener-Radermacher)
 Ἡσίοδος μὲν γὰρ ἐφρόντισεν ἥδονῆς δι’ ὄνομάτων λειότητος καὶ συνθέσεως ἐμμελοῦς.

T125 Quintil. *Inst. orat.* 10.1.52

raro adsurgit Hesiodus magna pars eius in nominibus est occupata, tamen utiles circa praecepta sententiae, levitasque verborum et compositionis probabilis, daturque ei palma in illo medio genere dicendi.

T126 Men. Rhet. διαιρεσις τῶν ἐπιδεικτικῶν (III p. 340.24–29 Spengel, p. 20 Russell-Wilson)

ἀρετὴ δ’ ἐρμηνείας ἐν τοῖς τοιούτοις καθαρότης καὶ τὸ ἀπροσκορές· γένοιτο <δ’> ἀν ἐν ποιήσει ἐκ συμμετρίας τῶν περιφράσεων . . . παρέσχετο δὲ τὴν μὲν ἐν ποιήσει ἀρετὴν Ἡσίοδος, καὶ γνοίη τις ἀν μᾶλλον, εἰ τοῖς Ὀρφέως παραθείη.

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who participate in my own instruction. And some of those present were turned against me by these statements.

T124 Dionysius of Halicarnassus

(a) *On the Arrangement of Words*

Of the epic poets, it seems to me that it is Hesiod who has elaborated this style (i.e. the smooth arrangement) most finely.

(b) *On Imitation*

Hesiod paid attention to the pleasure deriving from verbal smoothness and harmonious arrangement.

T125 Quintilian, *Institutions of Oratory*

Hesiod takes flight only rarely, and much of his work is filled with proper names, but his didactic maxims are useful, and the smoothness of his choice and arrangement of words can be recommended: he wins the palm in the middle style.

T126 Menander Rhetor, *Classification of Epideictic Speeches*

Excellence of style in writings of this sort (i.e. genealogical hymns) consists in purity and in avoiding a feeling of surfeit, and this can be achieved in poetry by means of moderation in periphrases . . . Hesiod demonstrated this excellence in poetry, and one can recognize this better by comparing his poems with Orpheus'.

T127 Schol. Hes. *Op.* Prolegomena A.b p. 1.15–2.5 Pertusi

ὅ μὲν οὖν σκοπὸς τοῦ βιβλίου παιδευτικός. . . . διὸ καὶ ἀρχαιότροπός ἐστιν ἡ ἐν αὐτῷ τῆς ποιητικῆς ἴδεα· τῶν γὰρ καλλωπισμῶν καὶ τῶν ἐπιθέτων κόσμων καὶ μεταφορῶν ὡς τὰ πολλὰ καθαρεύει. τὸ γὰρ ἀπλοῦν καὶ τὸ αὐτοφυὲς πρέπει τοῖς ἡθικοῖς λόγοις.

T128 Aristoteles

Hesych. in onomatologo s.v. Ἀριστοτέλης (Arist. Fragmenta p. 16.143 Rose)

Ἀπορήματα Ἡσιόδου ἐν ἀ . . .

T129 Heraclides Ponticus

Diog. Laert. 5.87 (Heraclid. Fr. 22 Wehrli)

γραμματικὰ δέ περὶ τῆς Ὁμήρου καὶ Ἡσιόδου ἡλικίας α' β' . . .

T130 Chamaeleon

Diog. Laert. 5.92 (Chamaeleon Fr. 46 Wehrli, Fr. 47 Giordano)

Χαμαιλέων τε τὰ παρ' ἔαντοῦ φησι κλέψαντα αὐτὸν (scil. Ἡρακλείδην) τὰ περὶ Ἡσιόδου καὶ Ὁμήρου γράψαι.

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T127 Scholia on Hesiod's *Works and Days*,
Prolegomena

The purpose of the book is educational. . . . For this reason the poetic style in it is archaic, for it is for the most part free of adornments and added ornamentations and metaphors. For simplicity and naturalness are appropriate for ethical discourses.

Cf. T53, T60, T95

Literary Scholarship

T128 Aristotle⁴³

Hesychius, *List of Aristotle's Writings*

Hesiodic Problems, in 1 book . . .

T129 Heraclides Ponticus

Diogenes Laertius, *Lives of Eminent Philosophers*

grammatical works: *On the Age of Homer and Hesiod*, books 1 and 2 . . .

T130 Chamaeleon

Diogenes Laertius, *Lives of Eminent Philosophers*

Chamaeleon says that he (i.e. Heraclides) plagiarized his own treatise about Hesiod and Homer.

⁴³ Cf. T2, T37, T102, T117, T119c, and Fr. 303.

T131 Hecataeus Abder.

Suda ε 359, 2.213.22–23 Adler (73 A 1 DK)

περὶ τῆς ποιήσεως Ὁμήρου καὶ Ἡσιόδου. . .

T 132 Megaclides

T 52

T133 Antidorus Cum.

Schol. Dion. Thrax 448.6 Hilgard

φασὶ δὲ Ἀντίδωρον τὸν Κυμαῖον πρῶτον ἐπιγεγραφέναι αὐτὸν γραμματικόν, σύγγραμμά τι γράψαντα περὶ Ὁμήρου καὶ Ἡσιόδου.

T134 Zenodotus

Schol. Hes. *Theog.* 5b² (p. 4.9–10 Di Gregorio)

T135 Apollonius Rhodius

Schol. Hes. *Theog.* 26b (p. 7.6–9 Di Gregorio = Apoll. Rhod. Fr. XIX Michaelis); T52, T80

T136 Aristophanes Byz.

Schol. Hes. *Theog.* 68a (p. 15.16–18 Di Gregorio = Aristoph. Byz. Fr. 405 Slater), 126 (p. 28.3–10 Di Gr. = Fr. 439 Sl.); T52, T69

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T131 Hecataeus of Abdera

The *Suda*

On the Poetry of Homer and Hesiod . . .

T132 Megaclides

T52

T133 Antidorus of Cyme

Scholium on Dionysius Thrax

They say that Antidorus of Cyme was the first person to call himself a grammarian; he wrote a treatise about Homer and Hesiod.

T134 Zenodotus

Scholium on Hesiod's *Theogony*

T135 Apollonius Rhodius

Scholium on Hesiod's *Theogony*; T52, T80

T136 Aristophanes of Byzantium

Scholia on Hesiod's *Theogony*; T52, T69

T137 Aristarchus

Schol. Hes. *Theog.* 76 (p. 17.2–5 Di Gregorio = Arist. Fr. 1 Waeschke), 114–15 (p. 22.1 Di Gr. = Fr. 2 W.), 138 (p. 32.7–12 Di Gr. = Fr. 3 W.), 253b (p. 51.23–52.1 Di Gr. = Fr. 4 W.), 991 (p. 121.7–8 Di Gr.; ἀρχέλοχος mss., corr. Ruhnken, Flach); Schol. Hes. *Op.* 97a (p. 45.11–14 Pertusi = Fr. 6 W.), 207–12 (p. 76.22–24 P. = Fr. 7 W.), 740a (p. 225.15–18 P. = Fr. 9 W.); T49

T138 Praxiphanes

T49

T139 Crates Mall.

Schol. Hes. *Theog.* 126 (p. 28.4–5 Di Gregorio = Crat. Fr. 79 Broggiato), 142 (p. 34.6–8 Di Gr. = Fr. 80 Br. = Hesiodus Fr. 57 Most); T50

T140 Zenodotus Alex.

Suda ζ 75, 2. 506.21 Adler

εἰς τὴν Ἡσιόδου Θεογονίαν. . .

T141 Demetrius Ixion

Suda δ 430, 2.41.19 Adler (Dem. Ixion pp. 20–21 Staesche)

εἰς Ὀμηρον ἐξήγησιν, εἰς Ἡσιόδον ὁμοίως. . .

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T137 Aristarchus

Scholia on Hesiod's *Theogony* and *Works and Days*; T49

T138 Praxiphanes

T49

T139 Crates of Mallus

Scholia on Hesiod, *Theogony*; T50

T140 Zenodotus of Alexandria

The *Suda*

On Hesiod's Theogony . . .

T141 Demetrius Ixion

The *Suda*

Exegesis of Homer. Exegesis of Hesiod. . . .

T142 Aristonicus

Suda a 3924 (I p. 356.31–33 Adler)

περὶ τῶν σημείων τῶν ἐν τῇ Θεογονίᾳ Ἡσιόδου καὶ τῶν τῆς Ἰλιάδος καὶ Ὁδυσσείας. . .

T143 Didymus

Schol. Hes. *Theog.* 126 (p. 28.7–8 Di Gregorio = Did. p. 300 Schmidt); Schol. Hes. *Op.* 304b (p. 102.15–16 Pertusi = p. 300 Schmidt)

T144 Seleucus

Schol. Hes. *Theog.* 114–15 (p. 21.13 Di Gregorio = Sel. Fr. 27 Müller), 160 (p. 37.6–8 Di Gr. = Fr. 28 M.), 270 (p. 54.8–9 Di Gr. = Fr. 29 M.), 573 (p. 88.11–12 Di Gr. = Fr. 30 M.); Schol. Hes. *Op.* 96a (p. 44.20–21 Pertusi = Fr. p. 44 M.), 150b (p. 60.16–18 P.), 549a (p. 180.23–24 P. = Fr. p. 44 M.); Schol. Hes. *Scut.* 415 (p. 181 Russo = Fr. 33 M.)

T145 Epaphroditus

Etym. Gudianum p. 91.18, 177.23 Sturz

ἐν Τπομνήματι Ἀσπίδος . . .

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T142 Aristonicus

The *Suda*

On the Critical Signs in Hesiod's Theogony and Those in the Iliad and Odyssey. . . .

T143 Didymus

Scholia on Hesiod's *Theogony* and *Works and Days*

T144 Seleucus

Scholia on Hesiod's *Theogony*, *Works and Days*, *Shield*

T145 Epaphroditus

Etymologicum Gudianum

in his *Treatise on the Shield* . . .

T146 Dionysius Corinth.

Suda δ 1177 (II p. 110.11–12 Adler)

ἐποποιὸς. . . καὶ καταλογάδην Ὄπόμνημα εἰς Ἡσίοδον
. . .

T147 Plutarchus

Aul. Gell. 20.8.7 = Plut. Fr. 102 Sandbach

quod apud Plutarchum in quarto in Hesiodum commen-
tario legi. . .

Schol. Hes. *Op.* 48 (p. 28.14–16 Pertusi = Plut. Fr. 27 Sandbach), 214–16 (pp. 28.19–79.2 P. = Fr. 32 S.), 220–21 (p. 81.10–22 P. = Fr. 34 S.), 242–47 (p. 86.18–22 P. = Fr. 37 S.), 270–73 (pp. 91.22–92.9 P. = Fr. 38 S.), 286 (pp. 96.11–97.2 P. = Fr. 40 S.), 287–90 (p. 97.7–9 P. = Fr. 41 S.), 317–18 (p. 107.4–6 P. = Fr. 45 S.), 346–48 (pp. 116.25–117.13 P. = Fr. 49 S.), 353–54 (p. 119.1–7 P. = Fr. 51a S.), 355 (pp. 119.18–120.2 P. = Fr. 52 S.), 356–60 <370–72> (pp. 120.20–121.7 P. = Fr. 55 S.), 375 (p. 125.21–23 P. = Fr. 56 S.), 376[377]-78 (p. 126.4–10 P. = Fr. 57 S.), 380 (pp. 128.15–23 P. = Fr. 59 S.), 391–93 (pp. 135.23–136.8 P. = Fr. 60 S.), 423–27 (p. 144.2–17 P. = Fr. 62 S.), 427–30 (p. 148.3–7 P. = Fr. 64 S.), 430–36 (p. 45.1–9 P. = Fr. 65 S.), 504–6 (p. 171.1–10 P. = Fr. 71a S.), 561–63 (p. 183.1–7 P. = Fr. 77 S.), 578–81 (p. 188.7–12 P. = Fr. 79 S.), 591–96 (pp. 191.6–192.18 P. = Fr. 81

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T146 Dionysius of Corinth

The *Suda*

Epic poet . . . and in prose *Treatise on Hesiod* . . .

T147 Plutarch

Aulus Gellius, *Attic Nights*

which I have read in Plutarch in book 4 of his commentary
on Hesiod . . .

Scholia on Hesiod's *Works and Days*

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S.), 633–40 (pp. 201.22–202.9 P. = Fr. 82 S.), 650–62 (pp. 205.22–206.10 P. = Fr. 84 S.), 733–34 (p. 223.8–18 P. = Fr. 91 S.), 748–49 (p. 228.5–15 P. = Fr. 95 S.), 750–52 (p. 229.8–14 P. = Fr. 96 S.), 757–59 (p. 231.6–10 P. = Fr. 98 S.), 780–81 (pp. 242.16–243.8 P. = Fr. 104 S.), 797–99 (p. 248.7–20 P. = Fr. 108 S.)

T148 Proclus

Suda π 2473 (IV p. 210.9–10 Adler)

‘Τπόμνημα εἰς τὰ Ἡσιόδου Ἔργα καὶ Ἡμέρας . . .

Schol. Hes. *Op. passim*

T149 Cleomenes

Clem. Alex. *Strom.* 1.61.2

Κλεομένης . . . ἐν τῷ περὶ Ἡσιόδῳ . . .

T150 Comanus

Schol. Hes. *Op.* 97a (p. 45.8–11 Pertusi = Comanus Fr. 16 Dyck)

T151 P. Oxy. 4648 recto 14–28

ἡπε[ι-]
ρώτης δὲ γεωργ]ὸς ὅν ὁ Ἀσκραῖος καὶ τὰ να[υ-
τικὰ ἀγνοῶν, τὰ δὲ βεβ]αιότατα τῆς γεωργίας, [

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T148 Proclus⁴⁴

The *Suda*

Treatise on Hesiod's Works and Days . . .

Scholia on Hesiod's *Works and Days*

T149 Cleomenes

Clement of Alexandria, *Miscellanies*

Cleomenes . . . in his *On Hesiod . . .*

T150 Comanus

Scholium on Hesiod's *Works and Days*

T151 Oxyrhynchus papyrus (third century AD),
anonymous prose work on star signs

But the Ascraean, being [a farmer from the mainland and
ignorant of sailing] (scil. unlike the educated islander

⁴⁴ Cf. T120(c).

HESIOD

τὰς ὥρας καταμ]ετρεῖ “Πληιάδων Ἀτλαι[γε-
νέων] [....] [τελ]λομενάων” (*Op.* 383) καὶ ἐπὶ τὸν
ἄμ[η-

τὸν τότε ἔξωρ]μησεν, “δυομένων” δὲ ἐπὶ τ[ὸν
ἄροτον, καθάπερ] καὶ ὅτε Ὁρίων ἐστὶν τρυγ[
.....] παρε.[.]. α καὶ ὄλως τινέ[
φασιν, ὅταν κ]αί τισι ὁ “ἀκροκυ[έ]φαιος” (*Op.* 567)
παρ[ῆ.

ώς δὲ προειρ]ήκαμεν, οὐδὴ Ἀρατος ζηλ[ω-
τῆς οὐκ ἀγ]εννής ἐγένετο, ως μηδὲ τὸν [
.....]ον ἐσφάλθαι εἰπόντα (Τ 73).

MISCELLANEOUS JUDGMENTS

T152 Cic. *Cato maior de senectute* 15.54

quid de utilitate loquar stercorandi? Dixi in eo libro quem de rebus rusticis scripsi; de qua doctus Hesiodus ne verbum quidem fecit, cum de cultura agri scriberet; at Homerus, qui multis ut mihi videtur ante saeclis fuit, Laertam lenientem desiderium quod capiebat e filio, colentem agrum et eum stercorantem facit.

T153 Dio Chrys. *Orat.* 2.8

“τὸν δὲ Ἡσίοδον, ὁ Ἀλέξανδρε, ὀλίγουν ἄξιον κρίνεις”,
ἔφη, “ποιητήν;”

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Homer), but knowing the most certain signs of agriculture, measures [the seasons] starting from “when the Atlas-born Pleiades rise” (*Works and Days* 383) and [has set out just at that time] for the harvest, and “when they set” to [the plowing, just as] when Orion is [] grape harvest, and some [say] wholly so, [when] it is present to some “just at dusk” (*Works and Days* 567). [As we said earlier,] Aratus was indeed [not] a servile imitator of him, so that [] (i.e. Callimachus) was not mistaken when he said, (T73).

MISCELLANEOUS JUDGMENTS

T152 Cicero, *Cato. On Old Age*

Why should I (i.e. Cato) speak about the usefulness of manuring? I have spoken about that in the book I wrote on agriculture. On this subject the learned Hesiod did not even say a single word when he wrote about cultivation; but Homer, who lived many generations, as I believe, before (= T6), shows us Laertes trying to alleviate his longing for his son by cultivating his field and spreading manure on it.⁴⁵

T153 Dio Chrysostom, “On Kingship”⁴⁶

He (i.e. Philip of Macedon) said, “Well, Alexander, as

⁴⁵ Cicero seems to be referring to *Odyssey* 24.227; but in fact, there is no explicit reference to manure in this passage.

⁴⁶ Cf. also Dio Chrysostom, “Borysthenitic Discourse” 34–35 (= *Orat.* 36.34–35).

“οὐκ ἔγωγε,” εἶπεν, “ἀλλὰ τοῦ παντός, οὐ μέντοι βασιλεῦσιν οὐδὲ στρατηγοῖς ἴσως.”

“ ἀλλὰ τίσι μήν;”

καὶ ὁ Ἀλέξανδρος γελάσας “τοῖς ποιμέσιν,” ἔφη, “καὶ τοῖς τέκτοσι καὶ τοῖς γεωργοῖς. τοὺς μὲν γὰρ ποιμένας φησὶ φιλεῖσθαι ὑπὸ τῶν Μουσῶν (sed cf. Th. 26), τοῖς δὲ τέκτοσι μάλα ἐμπείρως παραινεῖ πηλίκον χρὴ τὸν ἄξονα τεμεῖν (cf. Op. 424–5), καὶ τοῖς γεωργοῖς, δῆμηνίκα ἄρξασθαι πίθου (cf. Op. 814–5).”

T154 Dio Chrys. *Orat.* 77.1–2

“ἄρα διὰ ταῦτα καὶ τὰ τοιαῦτα ἐνομίσθη σοφὸς ἐν τοῖς Ἑλλησιν Ἡσίοδος καὶ οὐδαμῶς ἀνάξιος ἐκείνης τῆς δόξης, ὡς οὐκ ἀνθρωπίνη τέχνη τὰ ποιήματα ποιῶν τε καὶ ἄδων, ἀλλὰ ταῖς Μούσαις ἐντυχών καὶ μαθητὴς αὐτῶν ἐκείνων γενόμενος; ὅθεν ἐξ ἀνάγκης ὅ, τι ἐπήει αὐτῷ πάντα μουσικά τε καὶ σοφὰ ἐφθέγγετο καὶ οὐδὲν μάταιον, ὃν δῆλον ὅτι καὶ τοῦτο τὸ ἔπος ἐστίν.”

“τὸ ποῖον;”

“καὶ κεραμεὺς κεραμεῖ κοτέει καὶ τέκτονι τέκτων.”
(Hes. *Op.* 25)

“πολλὰ μὲν καὶ ἄλλα φανήσεται τῶν Ἡσιόδου πεποιημένα καλῶς περὶ τε ἀνθρώπων καὶ θεῶν σχεδόν τι καὶ περὶ μειζόνων πραγμάτων ἢ ὅποια τὰ λεχθέντα νῦν ἀτὰρ οὖν καὶ ταῦτα ἀπεφήνατο μάλ’ ἀληθῶς τε καὶ ἐμπείρως τῆς ἀνθρωπίνης φύσεως.”

TESTIMONIA

for Hesiod, is he not worth very much as a poet in your judgment?”

“Quite the contrary, but he is perhaps not for kings and generals.”

“For whom then?”

Alexander laughed and said, “For shepherds, carpenters, and farmers. For shepherds he says are loved by the Muses (but cf. *Th* 26), carpenters he gives very experienced advice on how big an axle should be cut (cf. *WD* 424–5), and farmers when they should start in on a storage-jar (cf. *WD* 814–5).”

T154 Dio Chrysostom, “On Envy”

“Is it not for this reason and like ones that Hesiod was considered wise among the Greeks and not at all unworthy of that reputation of his, namely that it was not by human skill that he composed his poems, but because he had encountered the Muses and become their disciple? So that of necessity whatever occurred to him and he uttered was all ‘musical’ and wise and nothing in vain. An obvious example of this is this verse.”

“Which one?”

“‘And potter is angry with potter, and builder with builder.’ (*Works and Days* 25)

“It will turn out that many other verses of Hesiod’s are quite correct about human beings and gods and also about more important subjects than what has just been men-

HESIOD

T155 Plut. *Lac. Apophth.* p. 223a (cfr. Aelian. *Varia hist.* 13.19, p. 430 Wilson)

Κλεομένης ὁ Ἀναξανδρίδεω τὸν μὲν Ὀμηρον Λακεδαιμονίων εἶναι ποιητὴν ἔφη, τὸν δὲ Ἡσίοδον τῶν εἰλώτων τὸν μὲν γὰρ ὡς χρὴ πολεμεῖν, τὸν δὲ ὡς χρὴ γεωργεῖν παρηγγελκέναι.

T156 Ael. Aristid. *Orat.* 26.106 Keil

Ἡσίοδος, εἰ ὁμοίως Ὀμήρῳ τέλειος ἦν τὰ ποιητικὰ καὶ μαντικός, ὥσπερ ἐκεῖνος . . .

T157 Gnomologium Vaticanum Graecum 515 Sternbach

ὁ αὐτὸς ἐρωτηθεὶς πότερος κρείσσων, Ὀμηρος ἢ Ἡσίοδος, εἶπεν· “Ἡσίοδον μὲν αἱ Μοῦσαι, Ὀμηρον δὲ αἱ Χάριτες ἐτέκνωσαν.”

TESTIMONIA

tioned. But this verse too is obviously true and based upon experience of human nature.”

T155 Plutarch, *Sayings of the Spartans*

Cleomenes, the son of Anaxandrides, said that Homer was the poet of the Spartans and Hesiod that of the helots: for the one gave orders about how to wage war, the other about how to do farming.

T156 Aelius Aristides, *Orations*

if Hesiod had been as perfect as Homer was in his poetry and as prophetic as he was . . .

T157 Vatican Collection of Greek Sayings

The same man (i.e. Simonides), when asked which was the greater, Homer or Hesiod, said, “Hesiod was born of the Muses, but Homer was born of the Graces.”

TESTIMONIA CONCORDANCE

Most	Jacoby
1	11
2	10
3	18b)
4	115
5	18l)
6	18m)
7	8
8	88a)
9	20
10	19
11	18e)
12	18g)
13	18f)
14	15
15	18c)
16	18d)
17	75
18	76
19	37
20	38
21	21

HESIOD

Most	Jacoby
22	-
23	22
24	23
25	14
26	25
27	17a)
28	17b)
29	17c)
30	32
31	33
32	34
33(a),(b)	35a),b)
34	35c)
35	29
36	-
37	31
38	30
39	27
40	28
41	26
42	46
43	-
44	43
45	44
46	-
47	45
48	-
49	47a)
50	47b)
51	-

TESTIMONIA CONCORDANCE

Most	Jacoby
52	52a)
53	52b)
54	-
55	52c)
56	16
57	-
58	-
59	-
60	-
61	-
62	-
63	-
64	-
65	-
66	55
67	56b)
68	56a)
69	57a)
70	57b)
71	-
72	54a)
73	81b)
74	54c)
75	54b)
76	-
77	-
78	-
79	53
80	48
81	58a)

HESIOD

Most	Jacoby
82	58b)
83	100a)
84	92
85	91
86	93
87(a)	-
87(b)	81a)
88	82
89	-
90(a)	-
90(b)	84
91	-
92	85
93	43
94	83
95	-
96	86
97	69
98	59
99	78
100	72
101	36
102	39
103	40
104	94
105(a)	-
105(b), (c)	95
106	-
107	-
108	96

TESTIMONIA CONCORDANCE

Most	Jacoby
109	97
110	98
111	99
112	60
113(a), (b)	70, 71
114	73
115	62
116(a), (b)	77a), b)
116(c)	-
117(a), (b)	-
117(c)	63a)
118	-
119(a), (b)	106
119(c)	-
120	-
121	74a)
122	74b)
123	101
124(a), (b)	65, 64
125	66
126	-
127	67
128	102
129	103a)
130	103b)
131	104a)
132	104b)
133	105
134	107

HESIOD

Most	Jacoby
135	-
136	107
137	107
138	-
139	107
140	108
141	109
142	110
143	-
144	111
145	112
146	113
147	114
148	-
149	116
150	-
151	-
152	-
153	90
154	87
155	89
156	88b)
157	-

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